

Bibliotheca Gloucestrensis:

A

COLLECTION OF SCARCE AND CURIOUS TRACTS,

RELATING TO THE

COUNTY AND CITY

OF

G L O U C E S T E R;

ILLUSTRATIVE OF, AND PUBLISHED DURING

THE CIVIL WAR;

WITH

BIOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL REMARKS.

PART THE FIRST.

WASHBOURN AND SON, GLOUCESTER;

AND

CHARLES BALDWIN, NEWGATE STREET, LONDON.

—
MDCCCXIII.

48. J.

W. B. E. & Co. Gloucester:

COLLECTION OF SCARCE AND CURIOUS TRACTS

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PART THE FIRST.

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and

CHARLES BARNWYN, NEWCASTLE STREET, LONDON.

MDCCLXXIII.

22

HISTORICAL RELATION

OF THE

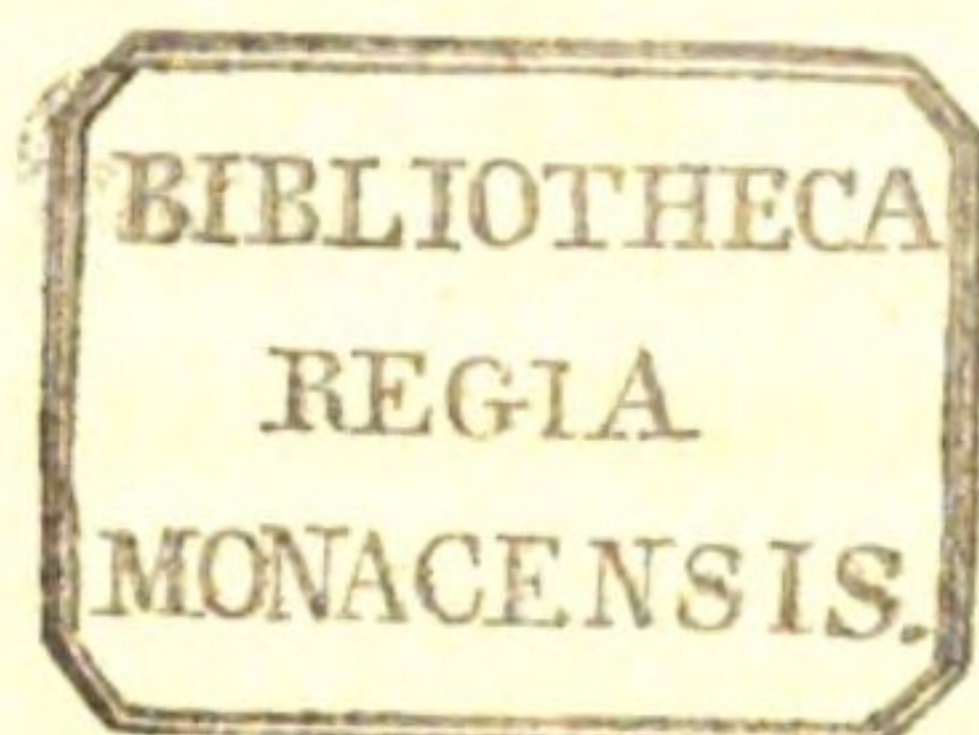
MILITARY GOVERNMENT

OF

GLOUCESTER.

BY JOHN CORBET.

To which is prefixed the Author's Life.



THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

GLoucESTER

BY JOHN CORREY

BIOGRAPHICAL
AND
HISTORICAL MEMOIR
OF
JOHN CORBET.

THE subject of the present biographical sketch, though of humble origin, was one of the many who, in the most memorable of our revolutionary conflicts, attracted the notice of their countrymen, and raised themselves from obscurity by the outcry of "persecution," and by an unshaken adherence to their religious and political sentiments through every change of fortune. In these sentiments the mistaken rigour of their opponents did but the more confirm them, giving to their resolution the merit of consistency, and the renown of martyrdom, in "times deluded with imaginary inspiration*." John Corbet, the son of Roger Corbet, a shoemaker, was born in the city of Gloucester, in the year 1620, and having received his

* Atkyns.

education at a grammar school there, became, at the early age of sixteen, a batteller of Magdalen Hall, Oxford. Three years afterwards, in 1639, he was admitted bachelor of arts. After he had taken holy orders he preached at Gloucester, where we find him in the following year incumbent of St. Mary de Crypt, one of the city lecturers, and usher of Crypt grammar-school; in the latter office he was for some time the coadjutor of the still more celebrated, but less fortunate John Biddle, the distinguished Socinian, who was appointed master of the same school in 1641. When the civil war commenced, and the city was garrisoned, according to the revolutionary phrase, "for the king and parliament," Corbet, recommended by the anti-monarchical principles he had already ventured to profess, was nominated domestic chaplain to the new governor, Colonel Edward Massey; and the doctrines he promulgated leave no doubt of the sincerity and perfect devotedness with which he laboured in his vocation. The pulpit became the oracle of disloyalty: he lost no occasion of decrying the royal party, and several times declared, even on the most solemn occasions, that "nothing had so much deceived the world as the name of a king, which was the ground of all mischief to the church of Christ." Yet much allowance is assuredly to be made for the season in which such rebellious feelings were suffered to prevail, religious fanaticism and political zeal being at that period universally prevalent. Much also may be fairly ascribed to the ill-advised and irritating measures of a government,

which, "divided against itself," was inevitably doomed to fall. The same act of fatal weakness that gave the royal sanction to the death of Strafford, signed in effect the death warrant of the king. And when Corbet, though we are not his apologists, shall be decried as a revolutionary bigot, it should be remembered that he but trod at a humble distance in the track of the immortal Milton, whom Bayle, merging his poetical in his political character, has designated as "the famous apologist for the beheading of king Charles the First." But it is our purpose to shew the fitness of Corbet for the execution of the work we now republish; and rather to assert his claim to authenticity, than to enter into a defence of his motives, or a vindication of his conduct. We have seen from his official appointment that he was attached in his professional character to the establishment of the Governor Massey: hence he possessed peculiarly favourable opportunities of noticing the events connected with the siege of Gloucester, and of obtaining the best founded information of the state and progress of the civil war. Actively and personally engaged in many of the scenes he describes, and called upon in his station to incite a spirit of resistance to the loyalists, although his discourses were consequently marked with all the bitterness of invective, he appears in the composition of his record to have been actuated solely by the desire of truth; to have divested himself of prejudice and party feeling, and to have laboured anxiously, rather as a faithful narrator of the occurrences of that period, than as a vindicator of the

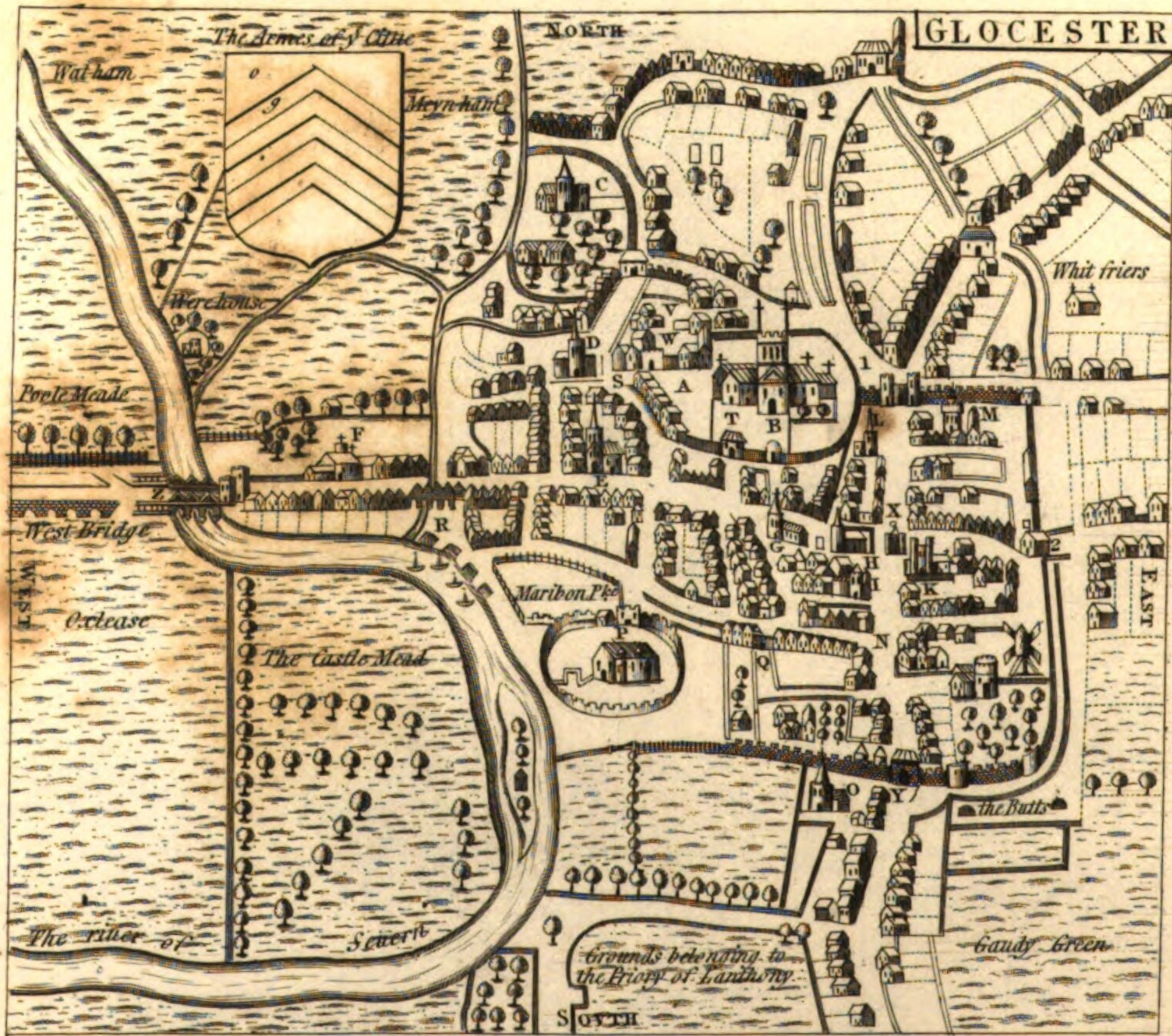
war in which the city of his birth had become so unfortunately involved ; “ for,” as he emphatically tells us, “ Gloucester did stand alone, without help and hope.” Hence it will be found that, whilst the main facts of Corbet’s military relation are incontrovertible, his statement, if not generally corroborated by the testimony of contemporary writers, is at least not invalidated by any historian of those perilous days. Nor should the forbearance with which he mentions the privations and sufferings of his fellow citizens be forgotten, any more than the modesty with which the achievements of his friend and patron Massey are recorded. He has contented himself with a simple detail, disinterestedly given; as if the soldier, whose triumph he commemorates, were to him an indifferent person ; and this too at a time when every official announcement made by the parliamentary interest in London was enthusiastic in praise of the governor’s bravery and skill.

In Corbet we find no bombastic eulogy, no fulsome adulation ; although the man of whom he wrote was the main support of his fortunes: this is strong evidence of the sincerity with which he wrote, and entitles him to the utmost credit in his recital of the facts that passed within his observation, and of which he might say with the hero of the *Æneid*, “ *Quorum pars magna fui.*”

At the end of the war he removed from Gloucester, and we next hear of him as a preacher at Bridgewater, in Somersetshire, whence he removed to Chichester, where he was much frequented by schismatic people. He was

afterwards called to the richer cure of Bramshot, in Hampshire, from which he was, by the act of uniformity, ejected in the year 1662. He then retired to London, and lived in great privacy until the death of his first wife, of whose name and family we have no trace, neither of the period of his first marriage. Upon her decease, however, he went to live, most probably, as chaplain in the house of Sir John Micklethwaite, president of the college of physicians: he subsequently resided with Alderman Webb, and shortly afterwards married a daughter of Dr. William Twysse. Still dreading persecution, he retired to Totteridge, in Hertfordshire, where he lived very privately with his friend Baxter. On the publication of the license granted by Charles the Second, in 1671, he was invited by his old congregation to return to Chichester, where he preached with all his former popularity, and had a conference with Bishop Gunning on the topics which occasioned his non-conformity; but he was too deeply attached to the principles which prevailed during the usurpation, to yield in any point to the discipline of the church. He continued in the exercise of his functions until November, 1680, when being dreadfully afflicted with the gravel, he went to London to undergo a surgical operation, in the hope of obtaining relief; but expired soon after his arrival in the metropolis, in the sixtieth year of his age. He died on the 26th of December, 1680, and was buried in St. Andrew's, Holborn. A funeral sermon was preached on the occasion by Baxter,

who expressed a very high opinion of his learning, piety, and humility, declaring, that he was so blameless in all his conversation, that he never heard one person accuse or blame him, but for non-conformity.



- A. The College
- B. Cathedrall Chu.
- C. St Oswald
- D. St Mary ante po
- E. St Nicholas
- F. St Bartlemew
- G. St Mary grace
- H. St Trinity
- I. St Alhalowes
- K. St Michael
- L. St Johns
- M. St Aldames
- N. St Mary Christ
- O. St Owens
- P. Castle Gate
- Q. Blackfriers gate
- R. The Key
- S. The Colledge gate
- T. K. Edw. gate
- V. The Bish. pallas
- W. The Deans house
- X. The high Crofs
- Y. Sowth gate
- Z. West gate
- 1. North gate
- 2. East gate

This City is not great but standeth holisomly and sweetly, as it were upon a hill, the Streets descending every way from the Crose. It is gouerned by a Mayor, two Shirifs, and 12 Aldermen, hauing both Sword and Macees borne before them. It is accounted one of the hundreds of the Shire, but indeed it is a County within it selfe of great comāund, hauing 2. other Hundreds adioyned unto it viz KINGS BERTON & DVDSTO the which conteyning 30 Townes & Hamlets (lying rownde about the Citie) y Mayor & Cittizens haue the comānd of all y inhabitants ther dwelling in the liberty thereof is called y Inshire as more euidently is see, y Mapp.

PLAN OF THE CITY OF GLOUCESTER,
Copied from Speed.

AN
HISTORICALL RELATION
OF THE
MILITARY GOVERNMENT
OF
GLOUCESTER:
FROM
THE BEGINNING OF THE CIVILL WARRE
BETWEENE
KING AND PARLIAMENT
TO THE
REMOVALL OF COLONELL MASSIE FROM THAT GOVERNMENT
TO
THE COMMAND OF THE WESTERNE FORCES.

BY JOHN CORBET
PREACHER OF GOD'S WORD.

Published by Authority.

LONDON,

PRINTED BY M. B. FOR ROBERT BOSTOCK AT THE KING'S
HEAD IN PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD.

1645.

HISTORICAL RELATION

MILITARY GOVERNMENT

GLoucester:

THE BEGINNING OF THE CIVIL WAR

KING AND PARLIAMENT

REMARKS OF COLONEL MASSIE FROM THAT GOVERNMENT

16

THE HISTORY OF THE CIVIL WAR

BY JOHN CORBETT

LONDON

PRINTED BY M. E. FOR ROBERT BOSTOCK AT THE SIGN

T. WHITE AND CO. PRINTERS,
BEAR ALLEY.

these days to be engaged in such a way, and the whole of the
theorist, yet their belief to be engaged for the highest interests in
this life, which will exist through the ages, and in
prosperous, will make the faithful in the land a perpetual exchequer
and the joy of many generations. The action of these times turn-

RIGHT WORSHIPFULL,

THE
MAYOR, ALDERMEN, AND COMMON COUNCELL,
WITH

THE BURGESSES OF THE CITY OF GLOUCESTER.

GENTLEMEN,
SILENT and calme times, and an equall stream of secular affairs
are more acceptable to men of the present age, because they
are times of injoyment; whereas the greater changes and confusions
of the world do more delight posterity, or such as survive the trouble
of those changes. For it is a pleasure to behold at such a distance
the risings and falls of nations and their governments, as to see the
raging sea from the secure land. And it doth not seldome come to
passe that an universall concussion, and the shaking of the pillars of
the earth, doth cast it into better frame and settle it on a firme
basis: so that the men of the former age doe labour, and those of
the later enter into their labours. Even so, it is the calamity of

THE EPISTLE DEDICATORY.

these dayes to be engaged in such a warre and the wofull attendants thereof; yet their felicity to be engaged for the highest interests in this life, which will exalt them, whatsoever the successe be; and if prosperous, will make the faithfull in the land a perpetuall excellency and the joy of many generations. The action of these times transcends the barons' warres, and those tedious discordes betweene the Houses of Yorke and Lancaster, in as much as it is undertaken upon higher principles, and carried on to a nobler end, and effects more universall. And in this you have acted not the least part for a particular government to your owne safety and honour, and by a generall acknowledgement not a little to the preservation of the whole kingdome. Wherefore out of abundant respect to my deare native place, having collected some memorials of its fidelity and industry, I humbly present them to your view, who were witnesses of, and bore a part in those performances. I remember my own thoughts when we were in the height of danger, and ready to fall into the depth of misery, that I did seeme to refresh myselfe in the concept of the future joyous remembrance thereof, when we should outlive those extremities. And you also must needs be abundantly satisfied in reminding those manifold hazards and exegencies which you, by patience and perseverance, have in good measure overcome. For which cause this historicall relation, though it tenders itselfe to the review of all serious men, yet unto yours chiefly, that your joy might be yet more full. Neither ought we to be so injurious to Divine Providence, as to bury or keep secret the influence and working thereof upon the endeavours of a willing people,

THE EPISTLE DEDICATORY.

Hitherto you have runne well, nothing remaines but perseverance,
that the concluding part may be blessed and honourable. Let your
City ever flourish and prosper under the protection of the
Highest.

Gentlemen,

Your humbly devoted Servant,

JOHN CORBET.

LEGES Historiæ civilis aperte satis innuit Franciscus Verulamius notando plurima quæ eam circumstant vitia. Dum plerique narrationes quasdam inopes et plebeias conscribant; alii particulares relationes, et Commentariolos opera Festinata, et textu inæquali consariant; alii capita tantum rerum gestarum percurrant; alii contràminima quæque et ad summas actionum nihil facientia persequantur: nonnulli, nimiâ erga ingenia propria indulgentia plurima audacter confingant: ast alii non tam ingeniorum suorum, quam affectuum imaginem rebus imprimant et addant, partium suarum memores, rerum parum fideles testes; quidam politica in quibus sibi complacent, ubique inculcent, et diverticula ad ostentationem quærendo narrationem rerum nimis leviter interrumpant: alii in orationum et concionum aut etiam actorum ipsorum prolixitate parum cū judicio nimii sunt.

Hæc omnia cautè vitantur in historia legitima et numeris suis absoluta.

De Augment: Scient. l. 2. c. 5.

AN

HISTORICALL RELATION

OF

THE MILITARY GOVERNMENT OF GLOUCESTER.

AMIDST the variety of action in the present age, the course of this military government was conceived not unworthy to be knowne unto more than them that acted, or beheld at a nearer distance; only the care of a true and meete representation held his thoughts, who hath now brought it to the publick light, and hazarded the censure of these knowing times. If I have fallen below the story, I shall neither beg acceptance nor crave pardon for a deliberate error; neverthelesse to give an accompt of the designe is no more than that due which all may expect and challenge: only the princes of learning's empire are authentick in the very name, and require an uncontrolled passe without a preface to usher them: but whosoever owes respect and duty to the world: his observance will plead for the necessity of a reall introduction.

The relation therefore brings to remembrance the affaires of a particular command, which as yet hath not been the meanest part of the present warfare, the event whereof all Christendome may expect with admiration and horreur; it is one branch of the history of these times, which happily may be viewed in severall parcells

better than in one entire body: for such a chronicle, if it shall duely expresse the rise and progresse of things, must needs be perplexed with multiplicity of interwoven discourses, when three kingdomes are engaged, and no part in either of them stand free as spectators only of the common calamity; that the worke must either swell into a bulke misshapen and burdensome, or lye too narrow to comprize the severall parts in their just and perfect measures; but many single narrations doe more exactly delineate, give the truest colours, and put upon things the most unsuspected visage. Generall histories doe seldome approach the fountaine of action, and their glosse, though beautifull, yet more dull, cannot hold forth that native grace and lustre. Whereas there appeare in particular branches those lively sparklings and more secret motions of life and heate, which strike upon the fancy and intellect that can behold and reach them; besides they that gather up so many divided plots (as now acted) into one modell, are wont to endeavour after a smoother path, a greater harmony, and more exact symmetry of parts; whereas the face of things is conscious of more disproportion, sometimes a confusion of businesse, and the severall scenes may easily swerve from the originall plot; but the divided parts drawne in severall are not so constrained and racked, but come naked and more simple, and shew that the reason of the same counsells is one in the senate or conclave; another in the field, discovers the failing or the crosse-working of contrivances, how in the midst of action the maine land-markes are waved, and many grand projects never reach their period. Out of all which the comparing faculty of a judicious observer may collect the mis-guidance or defects of policy; and see how the piercing subtilties of wit are broken and shattered by the course of things more knotty, rude, and violent; and this is the life of history, that ought to declare the delinquency of state as well as its accomplishment and perfection.

If the materialls of the worke be questioned whether fit to be

drawne up into one regular and compacted whole, and to make a standing monument, we also know that nothing in this kinde is to be thrust upon the world, since history doth intend to gratifie the future times with the remembrance of those things only which prudent men desire, and claime from such as pretend an interest and portion in the treasures of knowledge; it beares therefore before it nothing more than the thing itselfe gives forth, and which may finde acceptance with severer wits; for not only the remarkable changes of the universe, the grand periods of kingdomes and common-wealths, the chiefe and turning points of state affaires, but particular platformes, lives, examples, and emergent occasions also, are to be observed and laid up for posterity. More yet, those particularities, and minute passages are they that come home to men's businesse, approach their experience, and guide their course; but things more grand and lofty seeme to be turned upon the wheeles of Providence; too high for the imitation of men. The worke of a politick or martiall man is to fixe his designe, and then to expect the accomplishment, not by one sudden or great atchievement, but by a series of many particles, and through an infinite variety of emergent occasions, and at last the maine turning point falls in by the over-ruling power of the universall cause; such are properly the workes of men into which they ought to enquire and search. Besides, the chiefe skill is not the generall knowledge of the maine undertaking, but a certaine dexterity in meeting every point, in working through many mazes and windings, since sundry passages of small purport intervene to disturb or promove it. Experience tells, that many universall schollars are the most uncouth persons to civill imployment, which so happens, because they study bookes more than the course of businesse, in which they gaze upon high objects, and binde themselves to the rigid observance of received canons; that if they venture amongst men, upon a slight accident unexpected, they sticke in the mire or runne a wrong course. We dislike not the taking up of

well tryed principles, only by examples of all sorts must we learne to except and distinguish, and by consequence to use or abate the rigour of politicall maximes: neither doth it seldome come to passe that inferiour things over-rule, and a circumstance may be predominant. From such a low bottome and meane beginning are great things raised, and as their verticle point comes in an instant, so may they be turned upon a weake and slender hinge; yet we meane not those circumstances that are the inseparable attendants of every naturall action, but only such as are worthy, and have a morall influence; all which shun their understandings who respect only great, and excelse objects, which peradventure may flourish with ostentation and pompe, but if applyed unto the life of man bring forth an effect like the birth of the mountaines. And here we tender a naked comentary and true rehearsall of those things as deserve not wholly to be forgotten; if it be not full of rare changes which may grace the composure, and affect the reader; yet doth it give the full draught of a martiall command, and a true copy of the things it intends to expresse: it hath this advantage, in common with others of the like nature, that it can come forth to the censure of the present age without the guilt and shame of mistakes or flatteries. Authors more universall could never gaine to be stiled the writers of unquestionable verities, for they see at a greater distance, and by a more obscure and duskey light: certainly a nearer approach, and some kind of interest is required of him that desires to shew not only some tracke and foot-steps, but the expresse image of things, for whatsoever passes from hand to hand though upon the most undubitable authority, proves at the best but the image of a picture: for the best wit that takes things, though upon the surest trust, must needs fall short of the copy by which he writes, if not in beauty, yet in the truth and life thereof. The only danger in such as are intressed is, least they be partiall to their own side, or make the discourse more lofty than the stage can

reach; which mischiefe the deliberate thoughts of a serious man can prevent, and tell him that the unvarying of the defects, and misfortunes of his owne party doth evince the sincerity of the relation, and graceth it with more variety, than what the continuall streame of the height of gallantry and successe can yeeld; and which is most of all, doth demonstrate that at some times the designe was laide upon the principles of reason, and prosecuted with industry, whereas continuall victory is attributed to a certaine hidden felicity, and the bounty of Providence. Affection therefore receives a check from that man who is more true to his owne faction and ends, than to transgresse against the honour of that worke he takes in hand.

As for this military government, the power hereof hath rested in one command, and therefore doth more easily close into a single frame, yet not in a smooth and equall straine, but distinguished by many rises and falls: it is a branch almost divided from the maine stocke, and hath been put to live and act of itselfe: neverthelesse a branch still, and enlivened by the authority of the kingdomes soveraigne power, from which it receives an influence both of support and guidance: but its distance from the fountaine of power had derived upon the trustee a more free command, and made way for the perfect worke of a souldier, both counsell and action, which is the surest way to make such commands both active and prosperous.

The seate hereof lyes in the heart of the enemies country, like a forlorn hope, and is maintained not so much for its owne sake, or that so much ground might lie under a parliament power, but to divide the king's association, to stop his recruites, to scatter his forces, and continually to distract the designes of that army. Experience is witnesse of how great concernment it hath been to the safety of the common-wealth, not one place in the kingdome of England hath so much exhausted the enemies army, nor hath the

like advantage to ruine it: it can paine them at the heart, it is a fire kindled in their bowels, that might eate out their strength, had it been the felicity of the state to have sent hither a part of those great supplies which have been elsewhere expended, and done little towards the conclusion of the great worke.

If this collection shall present any thing that comes home to a civill life, or the imployment of a souldier, if it shall bring to minde acceptable services, and cause the people to remember the day of small things, with the power of active and faithfull endeavours, that observe and follow the Divine Providence, I shall not faile of my end: and I know that this my adventure is no more than what the action doth deserve, and the world may challenge.

THE ingagement of the city of Gloucester in this common cause of religion and liberty, first began when the houses of parliament declared to the kingdome their resolution of a defensive war: neither were its principall and active men drawne in by inferiour and accidentall motives, but quickened by the same principles in the maine, that did enliven and actuate the supreme court, expressing in themselves the very motions of a parliamentary spirit by an absolute and greedy compliance with every act that breathed towards the perfect health of the state, the severall remonstrances of both houses were received with all due respect, whereas no declaration sent from the other party, found the courtesie of a formall entertainment. It hath been the honour of that civill government, never to be guilty of the least act of disservice against that cause which their hearts wish might prevaile and prosper. Therefore when the fire kindled and fomented by Jesuited Papists and their adherents, was blowne up into a flame, and the heads of two parties appeared within this realme, the city of Gloucester determined not to stand neutrall in

action, but to adhere unto one party, with which they resolved to stand or fall, necessity requiring no lesse, which affection improves into vertue. The acknowledgement of its owne advantage in situation and strength importuned a more timely declaration, least by itselfe neglected, it should be seized by the enemy, whose eye was upon it, and so cast into perpetuall bondage. Also the greatest part of the country consented and resolved to maintaine their birth-rights in the defence of the priviledges and power of parliament, against all invasions of usurpation and tyranny.

During the king's preparations in the North, they attempted (according to the slendernes of all beginnings) to put themselves into a posture of defence, and expected the instructions of parliament. And whereas the ordinance of militia was the first pretended ground of difference betweene his majesty and the houses, (they desiring such officers in whom the state might confide, and the king refusing to deprive them that by himselfe were intrusted) when the rent was once made, a greater necessity impleaded the execution of that ordinance: whereupon the Lord Say was by order of parliament appointed lord lieutenant: a commission was likewise granted unto divers gentlemen for deputy lieutenants, many whereof drew back and shunned the imployment, that the power for the most part rested in the members of the House of Commons for this county, by whose countenance many companies of volunteers were raised, then called the militia bands, and led by such captaines as the embryo of the warre could afford. But the first undertaking was more jocund than the progresse; as oft times it comes to passe, that a military pompe and appearance of bravery doth affect and raise up many feeble spirits, who quickly lye flat when they begin to feelee the stubbornesse and cruelty of warre.

The commission of Array did not adventure to tender itselfe to the people; it was about to be offered to their liking at Cirencester, by the Lord Chandos and some other disaffected gentlemen, but

was stifled in the birth, and crushed by the rude hand of the multitude before it saw the light; the chiefe abetter thereof was like to suffer violence by the meanest of the people, whose fury constrained him to promise, and give under his hand, that he would never more deale in the businesse. But when they saw that this lord had escaped their hands by a secret conveyance, they were the more enraged, and waxed cruell against his accoutrements and furniture, and whatsoever of his was left behind, delighting in a contumelious revenge and rustick triumph. Such were the effects of that fury that tooke hold on the ignoble multitude, in whom not alwaies the deep sense of their owne interests doth provoke this extasie of passion, but peradventure a slighter accident and unexpected turning of the fancy sets them in a hurry, when their insolency becomes intollerable, and they glory to vent their humours, by reason of an usuall restraint and subjection. Neverthelesse they have produced good effects, and oft times a more undescerned guidance of superiour agents turnes them to the terrour of the enemy, and unexplicable selfe-engagement upon the common people, which prudent men promote and maintaine, yet no farther than themselves can over-rule and moderate. Hereupon the full streame of the country runnes for the ordinance of the militia, and against the king's declarations and commission of array. But since we are now upon the beginning of action, it will not be from the matter to declare the grounds of that affection which the country did expresse, and were common unto them with many parts of the kingdome, that were devoted to the same cause, but might appeare in a greater degree, and have a clearer evidence in the present example. Most men, therefore, did undoubtedly foresee greater hopes of liberty from the parliament than the king's party; in so much that there appeared in all the states adhearants an inbred propensity to freedome, but a desire of vast dominion, dignity, revenge, or rapine in them that tooke to the contrary faction; by

which this country did seeme well disposed to comply with the parliament's grand designe : for there was no excessive number of powerfull gentry, who for the most part care not to render themselves the slaves of princes, that they also might rule over their neighbours as vassalls : but the inhabitants consisted chiefly of yeomen, farmers, petty free-holders, and such as use manufactures that enrich the country, and passe through the hands of a multitude, a generation of men truely laborious, jealous of their properties, whose principall ayme is liberty and plenty, and whilst in an equall ranke with their neighbours they desire only not to be oppressed, and account themselves extreamely bound to the world, if they may keepe their owne ; such therefore continually thwart the intentions of tyrannie unto which they only are moulded, who detesting a close, hardy, and industrious way of living, doe eate their bread in the sweat of other men, and neglecting a secure estate, rejoyce rather in the height of fortune though inconstant and dangerous. Such is the predominant humour of gentlemen in a corrupted age. Besides, the countryman had of his owne, and did not live by the breath of his great landlord ; neither were the poore and needy at the will of the gentry, but observed those men by whom those manufactures were maintained that kept them alive. By which meanes it came to passe that neither they of the middle rank, nor the needy were devoted to the examples of the gentlemen who turned back, betrayed their trust (and are alwaies more apt to be corrupted, or mistaken in judging of the common interest) but had learned to reverence their liberties, and to acknowledge their native happiness.

But some higher cause had a greater influence on the endeavours of many for a well-bounded freedome, and regular priviledges ; a knowledge of things pertaining to divine worship, according to the maine principles of the Christian profession. Which religion is not according to the will of man, but grounded upon an unchange-

able and eternall truth, and doth indispensably binde every soule to one law perpetuall and constant. This therefore doth strongly implead the necessity of externall priviledges in her professors, and though it doth not destroy the kingdomes of the world, nor usurpe a greater liberty than humane lawes will easily grant, yet it will not give away its native right; and it hath moreover in its nature an irreconcilable enmity against arbitrary government, and will worke its selfe out of bondage when the felicity of the times shall give power and a lawfull call. And in this kinde of knowledge this city and county was more happy than many other parts of the kingdome by meanes of a practicall ministry, which hath not only its powerfull working in divine things, but doth also inable vulgar capacities more fitly to apply themselves to such things as concerne the life of a morall man; and although each person thus informed reacheth not the depth of the reason, yet he can comprehend the truth thereof, and jealousie makes him the more quick-sighted. Thus have we found that the common people addicted to the king's service have come out of blinde Wales, and other dark corners of the land; but the more knowing are apt to contradict and question, and will not easily be brought to the bent. For this cause the ambition of the times hath endeavoured the undermining of true religion, to promote a blind and irrationall worship, that might bring forth an ignorant and slavish generation of men, which kinde of bondage the meanest person that performes a reasonable service cannot but resent and feare.

Yet something there was that might debase and infeeble their spirits (the plague and mischief of the whole realme) a grosse ignorance, and supine neglect of military discipline, there being no ground for the study and exercise of armes that might keepe the body of the state in health and vigour. Nor is it unlikely that extreame vassalage was the end of that long sluggish peace, when the nation could not have been more happy, than in some just and

honourable warre with forraigne parts, though now none more miserable by reason of these civill broyles, that teare the bowels and eate up the strength of the kingdome. It is no shame in the progresse of time to looke backe upon the beginnings of action. The trained bands accounted the maine support of the realme, and bulworks against unexpected invasions, were effeminate in courage and uncapable of discipline, because their whole course of life was alienated from warlike imployment, insomuch that young and active spirits were more perfect by the experience of two daies service. Wherefore these men might easily repine at oppression, and have a will to preserve themselves; yet a small body of desperate cavalliers might over-runne and ruine them at their pleasure. Some professed souldiers were sent downe from the parliament to settle these and the militia bands, who had this only according to the rules of warre, to be gathered under severall captaines, and many of them into the forme of a regiment, which disposition might fit them for a suddaine service, and the very posture conferre something of a warlike spirit.

Within the city of Gloucester one company of volunteers was added to the trayned band, and some peeces of ordinance obtained from London and Bristoll, which were then received with universall amazement by an inland people, though not long after they grew familiar with their terrible executions; meane while the city was open on three parts at least, and had no considerable defence, only capable thereof by advantage of situation: the citizens did mainly shew their care and affection in fortifying the towne, a worke both expensive and tedious; being of great compasse, and raised from the ground: during these things the enemy came not neere our dwellings, we heard of them a farre off, but little thought that the cloud of blood should be blowne from the north and settle over us, upon whom it afterwards brake into so many showres; that this place should become the seate of warre, and the stage of action;

that then lying open to a free commerce with the world, it should be shut up sometimes in strict custody, but still under a larger confinement, and beleagured at a distance in the midst of the king's head garrisons.

At that time the rumours of warre and first acts of hostility quickly filled the eares and tongues of people, alarms were then taken at a greater distance, and the first was given from the neighbour city of Worcester, by five hundred of the king's horse, which entred the towne, and at that season were not the least part of his majestie's forces: his whole strength could not amount to the number of a just army, according to the slender proportion of those times, neither could they march like a set and perfect body, but flasht through the land as the lightning that strikes from one quarter of the heaven to the other. The noyse of a nearer enemy raised the volunteers of the country, who marched under the conduct of some gentlemen towards Worcester, expecting to meete Colonell Nathaniel Fiennes with a strength of horse, but Colonell Fiennes had faced the towne and drawne off before the advance of our foote, and they also retreated having done nothing, but so meanely prepared for the service, that they were much bound to the enemy that they fell not out of the city and cut them in peeces. The same volunteers came on the second time, and were to joyne once more with Colonell Fiennes, who returned with a greater strength of horse and dragoones under the command of Colonell Sands, and now also prevented our foot; they attempted the onset, and approached the towne with much speed and confidence on the Welch side of Seaverne, supposing the Earle of Essex at hand to assault the other side; but were meerely deluded by a false message from the enemy with a signall accordingly given, at which instant of time Prince Rupert arrived at Worcester. By meanes of this deceit the horse rush upon an ambuscado, when through the straightnesse of the passage first over a bridge, then through a narrow lane,

neither the reare could be brought up, nor the van make a retreat. It was an hot skirmish, and performed with sufficient gallantry on our part by them that came up, where persons of value were slaine and taken, the rest wholly routed and fled in confusion farre beyond the reach of a persuite. This victory was of great consequence to the enemy, because the omen and first fruits of the warre. Upon this the king's forces hearing of the approach of the parliament army immediately quitted the towne: so they shifted from place to place since their inconsiderable number would scarce allow them to erect any garrison; yet they encreased by their motion and quick dispatch, gathered the strength of the countries as they passed along, and withall overcame the contempt of their small numbers, and by frequent execution gained the repute of a party not easily to be vanquished. This they acted while the parliament army lay still, or marched according to the slow paces of a greater body. The day after the skirmish the Earle of Essex entred Worcester with his whole power, and there continued a month's space, sent forth severall parties, as the Lord Stanford to Hereford to prevent the forces of South-Wales, whilst the king lay about Shrewsbury, and raised to himselfe such an army as was able to deale with and endanger that maine power raised by the parliament.

After the famous battaile at Edge-hill, the first large field of bloud in these civill warres, though the king's army was there much broken, yet his strength increased, and multitudes began to looke towards him, as one at least-wise possible not to be overcome, and in this strange confluence of men his army seemed like that fabulous generation that sprung out of the teeth of the Cadmean serpent buried in the earth. The neglected enemy becomes formidable, and the parliament forces may desire their first advantage, but have sufficiently learned that to give the first blow is not against the law of a defensive warre; the hopes of a subitaneous service are lost and the kingdome is made sensible, that their peace and liberty

will cost much blood. Both the armies begin to take up their winter quarters in the most defensible places, and for the most part are settled according to the affections and engagements of the people; Colonell Thomas Essex marched into Gloucester with the command of two regiments of foote as governour of the towne, but as yet the deputy lieutenants had the sole command of the county. Foure weekes had not passed in this government but Colonell Essex was commanded to Bristoll, to secure and settle that city of so great concernment, both by sea and land, and at that time much distracted between the well-affected and malignant parties. So it was, that the king's cause and party were favoured by two extreames in that city; the one the wealthy and powerfull men, the other of the basest and lowest sort, but disgusted by the middle ranke, the true and best citizens. Thus the present state of things had taught men to distinguish between the true commons of the realme and the dreggs of the people; the one the most vehement assertors of publicke liberty, but the other the first rise of tyrannicall government, and the foot-stoole upon which princes tread when they ascend the height of monarchy. In that city many of the rich men were dis-affected to reformed religion, and some more powerfull were conscious of delinquency; others upbrayded themselves with their owne publicke disgrace, and therefore did much distaste the waies of the parliament, and the needy multitude besides their naturall hatred of good order were at the devotion of the rich men. These therefore began to raise commotions, and hearing of the advance of the forces from Gloucester, flocked together after a tumultuary manner, shut up the gates, but chiefly guarded that port where they expected an entrance would be made, and planted many ordnance against the approach of our men, with a full resolution to fire upon them. They were expected in the evening, but Colonell Essex had intelligence of these preparations, and from a party within was directed that night to march to another

gate (then neglected by the multitude) that should be set open; this was performed accordingly, and betimes in the morning he entred the city with his two regiments, besides great numbers out of this county, and in an instant surprized the mutineers, and quashed the businesse without drawing of blood.

The city of Gloucester was againe left naked till the Earle of Stamford marched hither with his regiment of foot, and two troopes of horse from Hereford; the Earle himselfe was commanded into the west upon his first arrivall, but his regiment designed for this city under the command of Lieutenant Colonell Massie, first as deputy governour under the Lord Stamford, afterwards with the power in himselfe which for the space of two yeares and sixe months continued an uninterrupted and happy government. The providence of God and the felicity of the place so over-ruling, that that country which should endure the brunt, sustaine so many violent shocks, and beare up under the king's whole army should be defended by a commander whose experience, fidelity, and valour with indefatigable care and industry might answer the expectation of so great a trust, assisted with that regiment, whose very name proved a terrour to the enemy, and long enjoyed the honour of the most ancient regiment in the parliament army, though broken, torne, and worne out with extraordinary duty and service. And because the meere pompe of military preparations, and the hopes of a sudden victory being now past, the warre hath put on a blacker visage, and the sad effects thereof come home to these parts; it is meete to expresse what was the state of the country at that time. The inhabitants of this county had openly engaged themselves in the state service, nor as yet had they any thought of repenting, though cast into the midst of an intraged enemy. Oxford is the king's head-garrison; Herefordshire possessed by his forces upon the first removall of the Earle of Stamford into Gloucester; Worcester hath already entertained a strength; Wales rises on the king's

behalf by the power of the Lord Herbert: the Earle of Essex with his army is drawne towards London, the parliament forces in the west have their hands full; and there remaine in these parts of the kingdome only two broken regiments at Bristoll, which was much distracted by intestine divisions, and one regiment at Gloucester; so that the most slender guard was left upon these parts, where the enemy resolved their chiefe game for the winter action. And if this country must be preserved, it must be done by the volunteers, which were yet as a cake not turned, a kinde of souldiers not wholly drawn off from the plow or domesticke imployments, having neither resolution nor support suitable to the service: but the greatest defect was the want of able and experienced officers; neither had they any commander in chiefe upon whom the hearts of the people might fasten.

Amidst these things the strength of the county was drawne to Cirencester, a fronteer towne towards the king's head quarters, then made a garrison to prevent the incursions of the enemy, as well to preserve the country from ruine as to advance the publicke service; Colonell Fettiplace had the command of this garrison, under whom some traine bands and volunteers were drawne into a regiment, and two companies of the Lord Stamford's regiment were added to incourage the businesse: a few horse and dragoones were raised at the free charge of the country, and the rest of the militia were to assist upon all appearance of danger: all things were transacted in a more voluntary, but lesse regular way. The businesse chiefly rested on Sir Robert Cooke, Sir John Seamore, Master Nathaniel Stephens, Master Edward Stephens, Master Thomas Hodges, with the rest of the deputy lieutenants; and setting aside these men with some gleanings of the gentry, the yeomen, farmers, cloathiers, and the whole middle ranke of the people were the only active men. The gentlemen in generall denyed their concurrence, discerning their country either by open enmity or detestable neutrality; and

from the major part no better fruite was to be looked for in a degenerate age, when in many of them there appeared an hatred of the commons, and a strong disposition to the ends of tyranny. Others there were not wholly averse from the good of the common-wealth, whose enmity was groundd in religion, which obtained the most eminent place in the parliament's cause. The superstitious adoring of their old way imbittered their spirits against reformed religion, which to them seemed a peevish affectation of novelty, besides, the hatred and feare of ecclesiasticall discipline. But the greatest number neither driven by ambition, nor the spirit of blind zeale, only resolving to be true to themselves, deserted the state with some inclinations to the contrary faction, reflecting on their estates invironed with the king's country, neare the heart of his strength and farre from parliamentary supplies; besides, the violence and quicke dispatch of the king's army, with the slow performances of our country agents after the space of an ordinary legall course in those extremities, did much deterre them; the country complained of their principall men for the neglect of taxes, and the gentlemen might happily see the grudgings of the country in the payment of those taxes (for the common people are alwaies covetous though well-affected) and forbear to urge whatsoever might distaste the people, or crosse the parliament's accustomed moderation. Which slow deliberations did lessen the esteem of the service in the hearts of many.

The secession of the dis-affected gentlemen did cast an aspersion that could not sticke, that the businesse was deserted by knowing men, and prosecuted by a rash and confused multitude. Whereas by no one thing could it more evidently appeare to be the cause of the common-wealth than by the acknowledgement of the whole body of the commons, which is more honest and wise in things of publicke concernment; for though they be very weake one by one, yet brought together they ballance each other, and when no man

hath power to improprie much, each man expects only a proportionable share in the publicke interest. Neither is their judgement and fore-sight to be undervalued who are apt to discerne any thing that concernes themselves, and being united are not like to faile, for they have the best experience and are neerely affected with the woe or weale of the state, and so may sometimes judge better than those that guide it, as he that useth the house can better judge thereof than the builder, and the pilote of the sterne than the carpenter. And although they have not the first and most excellent part of knowledge to finde out, and by themselves to understand the rules of government, yet have they the second part, which is also excellent to judge aright of things proposed, and if not made fit for the yoke by dependence on the gentry, can discover the fraud that lyes under the fairest pretext; but the gentlemen by depriving the meaner people of their due protection, blemished the reputation of their families, and crossed the end of their honours and possessions, which in a well ordered state are given for a shelter to the under shrubs that some generous spirit neerer the commons might keepe off the invasion of princes, and whose power was most desired in such an exegence, to gather up the scatterings of the people and keepe them united, who for want of this concurrence were of lesse strength and vigour.

Such was the face of this country now ready to receive the first shock of the enemies' fury. About the first of January, 1642, the maine strength of the king's army came before Cirencester prepared and resolved to storne it, yet they only faced the towne, and after two daies were strangely taken off, either disabled by the extreame cold on the hills, or some suddaine misfortune, or daunted by the shew of unanimity and resolution in the people, or else clouded in their thoughts by the secret will of God in the nick of action, that they made not the least attempt, but threatned an afterclap. A few daies after our forces had their designe upon

Sudely castle, at that time kept by Captaine Bridges in the behalfe of the Lord Chandos. Lieutenant Colonell Massie was intrusted with the manage of this action, who drew from Gloucester a party of three hundred musketteers, with two sakres assisted with fourescore horse, and foure companies of dragoones from Cirencester by order of a counsell of warre held there, and consent of the deputy lieutenants; there were in the castle neere threescore souldiers, with provision and ammunition sufficient: our men drew up before it in the evening, made severall shots, and the canon did some execution; the same night summons was given, the enemy refused to render upon quarter, but craved time till the next day, which in part was granted; guards were set upon them all night, the next morning our men were drawne out to make an assault, beds and wooll-packs were fetched out of the neighbourhood, which they tumbled before, and saved themselves from shot: the horse and dragoones came up before the foot approached the wall, and possest themselves of a garden under the castle, and got hay and straw which they fired, that the smoake driven by the wind smothered the house, in the shadow of which the ordnance were brought up undiscovered, and planted against the weakest part of the castle, which when the enemy perceived they sounded a parley, and immediately rendred upon agreement; the conditions were that all might have liberty of person, and passe to their owne houses, leaving their armes behind, and taking an oath never to serve against the parliament: they compounded also for the goods in the house, for which they were to pay five hundred pounds within sixe daies, or to leave them a free prize to the souldiers.

Within two daies after Prince Rupert faced Sudely with about foure thousand horse and foot pretending an attempt to regaine it, but in the meane time marched his artilery towards Cirencester. Lieutenant Colonell Massie made provision to maintaine the castle by taking in water, and store of hay and corne, and having left

there Lieutenant Colonell Forbes with a sufficient guard, himselfe retreated to Gloucester; the prince with his forces kept the hills, and after three daies fell before Cirencester a stragling and open towne, neither well fortified nor capable of defence. The champaine country round about was most advantagious to the horse, in which the enemies' strength did chiefly consist, and which was then wholly wanting to that garrison, for their horse and dragoones were sent to the taking of Sudely: most of their officers were drawne out upon that service except the captaines of the volunteers, and Lieutenant Colonell Karre was the only experienced souldier left there: their canoneers were wanting, the common souldiers quite off the hinges, either cowardly or mutinous. The storme rose when least feared by the miserable people, who had not ended the joy of their late deliverance from as great a power but strangely diverted; and though they were still in the same danger upon the reverse of the army, yet were they not capable of the least distrust, till the storme hovered againe, either supposing themselves invincible, or by defiance to have baffled a wary enemy, that falls backe and waites his time to returne with greater fury. On the second of February the towne was assaulted and taken; the first and maine assault was made on a house a flight shot from the town, which was defended by a hundred musketeers for an houre's space against two regiments of foot, and a regiment of horse which were led on by the prince, till at length having drawne up their musketeers, and by granadoes fired the barnes and ricks and smothered the guard, the enemy's horse drove their foote before them, entred the streetes by maine force, and possest themselves of the garrison within two houres, yet it cost them the lives of many, amongst whom the Welch-men were reported to suffer the greatest slaughter, who in that army were a continuall sacrifice to the sword. Each guard made resistance according to the officers' valour and experience; the souldiers of the Earle of Stamford's regiment had

acted the best part but that they were most put to the sword when the towne was entred, except those that by flight had their lives given them for a prey. Some few besides defended their guards a while, but the passages were many and open, and the enemy soone came upon their backes; as for the country-men their houre was not yet come, neither had they quitted such imployment as did infeeble their spirits, nor entred the schoole of war to study indignation, revenge and bloud, that alone can overcome the terrour of an army.

It so fell out that in the midst of the service they were at their wits end, and stood like men amazed, feare bereft them of understanding and memory, begat confusion in the minde within, and the thronging thoughts did oppresse and stop the course of action, that they were busied in everything, but could bring forth nothing; few of ours were slaine in the fight, but many murdered after the taking of the towne, eleaven hundred taken prisoners and at least two thousand armes lost, which the country had there laid up as in a secure magazine; the miserable captives were entertained with all despight and contumely, according to the enemie's accustomed cruelty in the beginning of the warre; commanders and gentlemen had no better quarter than the common souldiers, but were all thrust into the church to be reserved for a triumph, and trampled upon in a base and impotent revenge: whether the first fury of a civill warre, and the jarres of brethren prove most outrageous, or the cause of religion had blouded their minds. Not a man could be released, though the price of his redemption were paid, till he had first attended the triumph at Oxford; that an unfortunate king might view the aspect of such innocent subjects, that should presume to claime those rights wherein they were borne, when reason might easily evince that no slight matter could engage such a people in a open warre as were ever willing to deceive themselves into a supererrogation of loyalty.

The whole country was quickly full of this disaster, and in vaine

did thinke to recover what was lost by weakenesse of spirit or error in the chiefe manage of the businesse; thousands of men armed and unarmed flocked together, and resolved to undertake the enemy under the conduct of a grave and well-minded patriot; but the desired leader was conscious of the peoples' madnesse, and knew well that they made a loude cry afarre off, but if once brought up to the face of the army they would never abide the fury of the first onset. Wherefore he refused to engage himselfe and them upon a certaine destruction; neverthelesse the people bitterly railed against him, and curst him as a traitor to his country; neither could the experience of these times dispossesse them of that absurd conceite.

The very next day after the losse of Cirencester the city of Gloucester was demanded by Prince Rupert, the summons found the people extreamely dashed at the strange turning of things, and so much amazed that they could not credit the report of this blow, though confirmed by sundry eye-witnesses; the hearts of many sunke very low and began to lye flat, zeale and religion upheld some, all had a kinde of will; but the strong fidelity and resolution of the souldier at that time, and in all extreame hazards upheld the garrison. The prince therefore received a short answer from Lieutenant Colonell Massie and the principall officers, that they were resolved with their lives and fortunes to defend the city for the use of the king and parliament, and in no wise would surrender at the demand of a forraigne prince. Another answer was returned from the mayor of the city (for the martiall command was not fully settled) that he was resolved according to his oath and allegiance to keepe the city in his majestie's behoofe, and would not deliver the same according to this summons. Whereupon a second summons was sent from the prince, which could not alter the case in their judgement who held the towne, and seeming withall to perswade and sollicite them out of their hold, did easily

beget an opinion of the enemies' weakenesse and their owne considerable strength, since neither religion nor modesty could withhold from blood that enraged party, but only the conscience of a selfe insufficiency; the souldier therefore began to acknowledge the remainder of power which did not appeare contemptible with the king's army.

Hitherto the city hath been lodged in the midst of many out-garrisons, as the heart in the body, but now it hath enough to doe in its owne safety, and the remote parts must be pared off that a liberall nourishment might preserve and foster that place which was the seate and fountain of life unto these parts of the kingdome. Sudely castle was deserted, the garrison of Tewksbury (which was defended only with such slender forces as Gloucester could spare out of its penury before the enemy fell on the county) was already surprised with feare; both places could not be maintained when so great a power did urge, and beare downe on every side. Those of Tewksbury sent an expresse to the city to informe them of the state of their towne, and to request more aide; likewise they dispatched messengers to the villages round about, to acquaint them with the state of things, and to try whether the inhabitants would come in person or send in their armes, but there came neither the one nor the other, and it was resolved by the counsell of warre at Gloucester that the forces, ordnance and ammunition, with all well-affected persons should forth-with repaire thither. In the heate of this debate there came an invitation from Worcester by a letter from Sir William Russell, with intimation of conditions of peace; all which disposed that towne to compliance with the enemy. Here-upon a common counsell being held, and the officers present, it was determined that the Gloucester order was to be obeyed. The towne thus deserted was willing to provide for its owne safety, and chused rather to obtaine some reasonable termes of peace than suffer it selfe to be quite ruined; wherefore they drew up some

propositions to be sent to Sir William Russell, yet before the dispatch they sent to Gloucester a second message by the minister of the towne, and an officer of the garrison with Sir William Russell's letter and their answer. These promised an early return, but failing some houres of the time appointed, in the meane while the propositions were sent to Worcester. This message brought a countermand, when there sprung an alarum that Cirencester was regained, and the spoile and prisoners recovered backe; for this cause the souldiers were detained a while, but when the report was found untrue, of themselves they began to quit the towne. In the evening the messenger returned from Worcester with the propositions granted, the subjection seemed unfortunate and dishonourable in them whose affections were engaged to this cause, neither did there appeare a meanes to prevent it for the transmigration of the whole towne was impossible, nor as yet did the condition of the warre require any such thing from one particular place; for the parliament's adherents, as also the malignant faction did never at once forsake their habitations to be gathered into one body for a suddain conclusion, but were brought peecemeale unto action, and many lye under covert in the enemies' country reserving themselves for future service. Thus the people entertained gladly those conditions, which though performed in part yet were a sufficient bondage, did impoverish their spirits, coole their zeale of religion, and lessen the former inclination to liberty; after which by frequent changes under many lords they became so feeble that they never durst confide in themselves to vindicate the towne into its former happinesse, but a long time remained averse to the fairest opportunities, yea necessities of ingagement and desired an everlasting neutrality. The deserting of this towne encreased the forces of Gloucester by two hundred foot and dragoones, and tooke off the feare of a greater mischiefe; for though the quitting of the place caused us to resent our great distresse, yet the taking thereof

would have confounded our thoughts, and hazarded the maine chance, where the whole strength did not lye at stake.

The enemy breathed out threatnings, many false friends sought cunningly to make us affraid, the country-men in generall were taken off, who in their jocund beginnings still concluded on the victory, but never prepared for a blow, that the whole businesse was dashed at one clap, and especially when Cirencester was taken, in which they did repose so much trust. The issue discovered the weaknesse of the former proceedings in committing the whole fortune of the country, and the lives of so many men to such a poore defence, and hazarding the maine rest where the strength of the game could not be managed. Besides, the enemy had this great advantage in over-powring the minds of men; who since their cause could not lay claime to justice, nor themselves procure love, sought to prevaile by terrour, and by their late cruelties became dreadful: so that such spirits as wanted greatnesse of minde or strong fidelity to persevere, did greedily comply with that party, supposing themselves secure from this side, at least in respect of a deep personall suffering, which supposals were grounded upon the parliament's lenity, and unto which peradventure they were bound, that they might gaine affections in a voluntary warre. The more zealous and active had no head under whom they might unite and grow strong; the power of the deputy lieutenants was quite fallen, a kind of command suitable only to the infancy of military affaires, and the whole businesse was devolved on the souldier, whom the people then beheld as the professed servants of fortune, and trusted not till after manifold experience; so they sunke under the burden, and gave up themselves to spoile and rapine. The clouds gathered round the city, the enemy lay strong at Cirencester and Tewksbury, our men were confined to the towne walls; the workes not halfe finished, the souldier within mutinous and desperate: no monies came from the state, and but small supplies out of the

country, that the vilest mutineers were to be dealt with by intreaty, their insolencies to be suffered with patience, who tooke so great advantage by our extremity that their humours had a full vent, and ran forth into incorrigible wickednesse: the city was constrained to free quarter and great disbursements by way of loane, and the governour to use his skill in keeping together the mal-contented souldiers.

The army raised in Wales, by the power of the Earle of Worcester, and his son the Lord Herbert, begins to appeare is designed for Gloucester, and comes on at Coford in the forrest of Deane three miles from Monmouth, where Colonell Berrowe's regiment had made a kind of loose garrison for the defence of the forrest in an open towne, and with slender preparations. Here the Welch fell on, but their officers with strange fury drove our party before them, which was borne downe by their multitudes yet with a greater losse on their part; divers officers were slaine, and with the rest their commander in chiefe Sir Richard Lawdy, major generall of South-Wales; of ours few slaine, but Lieutenant Colonell Winter, and some inferiour officers, with about forty private souldiers taken prisoners. All the strength of these parts are now driven into the walls of Gloucester, only Barkly castle is held still for an encounter between us and Bristoll. This city was accounted one of the chiefe holds of the kingdome, and far from the well-spring of succour, yet was there no care of a competent brigade or magazine, a common defect, by which the state hath received much detriment; that through the penury of men, armes, and ammunition, remote garrisons are left in dispaire, or the intention of the maine army must be diverted for their relief. Our succours were yet to be raised, or selected out of severall commands and come on slowly; the people were held up by false reports, and to stave off the enemy the governour was to put the best face on a bad matter.

Meane while a great power of the Welch army advance towards

Gloucester and settled at Hignham house within two miles of the city and began to entrench. The governour placed a guard at the bishop's house to keepe them at a distance. Sir Jerome Brett their major generall had the confidence to demand the towne, but the summons was received with scorne from a Welch brigade, and became ridiculous when Prince Rupert had beene twice refused, besides an inveterate hatred derived by fabulous tradition had passed betweene the Welch-men and the citizens of Gloucester. Such slight and irrationall passages prevaile much with the common people in whom opinion beares rule. Those forces were said to expect Prince Rupert's approach on the other side, else it cannot be imagined to what end they lay five weekes in a stinking nest. They were basely baffled, never attempted our out-guard, never undertooke the least party that issued forth. Meanewhile the prince was conceived to waite upon other designes. The Bristoll plot offered it selfe, upon which his person did attend before the gates of that city. Thence he was drawne off to stop Sir William Waller's advance for our reliefe, who deceived the prince by strong reports and night marches, and happily drilled along his small army to the place of action. The governour could attempt nothing but only make good the guard at the bishop's house, and flourish with some slender sallyes; he had not an hundred horse, and the enemies' foot were double the number of those in the garrison; at length an addition of two hundred horse and dragoones from Bristoll under the command of Captain John Fiennes gave some life to the businesse: hereupon severall parties at sundry times were drawn out, which never failed to beat the enemy into their works, kill and take prisoners, although treble the number of our strongest party. So that the name of our blew regiment became a terroure to those miserable Welch-men, who were partly constrained to take up armes, partly allured with the hope of plunder. Certainly they were deceived out of their owne country not to fight but to take

Gloucester; by which meanes they could act an impotent villany and cruelty, but nothing of a souldier's gallantry.

Immediately after the taking of Malmesbury Sir William Waller bent his course towards Gloucester, and laid his designe for the surprize of the Welch army; he gave notice of his advance unto Lieutenant Colonell Massie, with directions instantly to draw forth both horse and foot before Hignham, and to keepe them in continuall action, that they might not understand his approach. He gave order likewise that those flat-bottomes which were brought from London upon carriages for service upon the river Seaverne, should be sent downe to Framilode passage, sixe miles below Gloucester, where both horse and foot were arrived by noone, passed over the river before night, and unawares of the enemy got between them and home, tooke them in a snare and intercepted their flight. The governour performed according to the intention of the plot, drew forth all the horse and a party of five hundred foot, brought up the ordnance neere the house, and kept them in the heate of play till the evening; at night he set guards round the house, with that straitnesse and confidence that the enemy durst not stirre, nor a spy steale out, although they lay fifteene hundred strong. At sunne rising they had a fresh alarme by our ordnance, and were held to it by our musket shot. This morning their horse issued out, attempting to force their way through the horse guard, which they did, and put some of our horse, rashly charging and upon disadvantage, to a disorderly retreate, but comming up to a foot guard received a repulse: and to the reliefe of that guard which was thought too weake, a party was drawne from the artillery, and that againe by this meanes much neglected, in so much that the same instant the enemy fell out upon our ordnance then like to be deserted, but were beaten backe by the gallantry of some few that kept their ground. In this point of action Sir William Waller came up and shot his warning-peece on the other

side, which dasht the enemy, and so revived our men that they ran up with fury, stormed a redoubt, and tooke in it two captaines and above thirty private souldiers, which service had a maine influence upon the surrender of the house; Sir William placed his army to the best advantage for shew, and displaid the colours of two foot regiments reduced to a hundred and fifty men, drew neere the house and made some few shot with his canon; after his approach not a man of the enemy was slaine or hurt, yet the common souldier would doe any thing but fight, when they were well fortified, and had a sufficient magazine; they sounded a parley and sent forth some officers to treat, which had this result; that they should render the house and themselves as prisoners, and the officers should receive respect and quarter according to their quality. Upon the returne of these termes some advised to break through, which the common souldiers utterly refused and neglected the advantage of a dark and rainy night. The persons that treated dealt the second time in a kind of begging way, but at last accepted the former conditions, and gave up the Welch army into the hands of men quite spent with continuall marches and watching. Divers persons of quality were here taken, the most powerfull gentry of Herefordshire, some of those that in scorne were stiled the nine worthies, who in the first opening of the great breach affronted the parliament with a scandalous remonstrance; the next day being the twenty fifth of March, neere fifteene hundred were led captive into Gloucester, as great a number as Sir William Waller's army with the garrison forces could rise unto: thus the first fruites of Wales were blasted, the strength of the nearer parts almost vanquished, and the effects of this victory had been more lasting had it been used to the best advantage. The king's party had a notable faculty in the improvement of victories by strict imprisonment, and inhauncing the rate of their captives; their usuall fiercenesse did extract great ransomes or unequall exchanges, and disposed them

to detaine their captives in extreame misery, and to neglect their owne friends in the like thralldome, of which those that were taken at Cirencester gave a full testimony: but the parliament garrisons knew not how to keepe a correspondence in this case, but groaned under the burthen of miserable prisoners, were prone to exchange, or set free upon easie termes. And by this meanes most of the common souldiers then taken within tenne daies were sent backe into their owne country, with an oath never to serve against the parliament; others that tendred themselves were entertained in the service, who for the most part proved runnegadoes; the commanders and gentlemen came off, some with a ransome, and oath which they quickly violated, and the residue were wholly lost at the surrender of Bristoll.

The whole successe of the former action happily complied with the maine plot, and extreemly dashed the king's affaires in these parts. The generall fame did increase and heighten the repute of Sir William Waller, and the enemy possessed there with began to draw back on all sides; Sir Matthew Carew forthwith quitted the towne of Tewksbury, which within twelve houres was repossessed by our forces, Captaine John Fienes was commanded thither with a slender strength of horse and dragoones, with whom the well-affected of the town that abode in Gloucester began to returne. The undertaking was hasty and confused, without the observance of the enemies' motion or distance, or any rationall assurance of defending the place. Our party had no sooner saluted the towne but received an alarme that the former forces were returned with a greater power. It was a gallant brigade of horse commanded by the Lord Grandeston, which immediatly came from Cheltenham, whereof our men had not the least intelligence: it seemed by the event that the enemy expected none from Gloucester; however there was quicke dispatch on both sides, yet Captaine Fienes with his whole party had bin surprised, had not those horse been kept

off at a mile's distance by a ridiculous accident. It so fell out that they met a man coming alone from the towne, whom they fell to question whether any forces were there, of what strength, and by whom commanded; the man intending nothing lesse than the escape of our party, but supposing them a part of the parliament forces, and willing to curry favour begins to talke of a maine strength and vast numbers, with so many guns and all kind of preparations, and withall defies the cavalliers with much affected indignation; which words so farre prevailed that they presently held a counsell of war, and once were about to fall back. This delay gave an houre's respite to those within to prepare for a flight, who had no sooner recovered the end of the towne, but the enemy had entred, amazed to see themselves so miserably deluded.

When Sir William Waller had refreshed his men some few daies about the first of Aprill 1643, he advanced towards Monmouthshire, at the solicitation of divers gentlemen of that country, with a promise of concurrence in reducing those parts to the obedience of king and parliament. When he came neere the towne of Monmouth where the Lord Herbert had began to place a garrison, the souldiers did not abide his coming, but all shifted for themselves by flight; Sir William entred the naked and open towne, where he stayed a while and sent many parties abroad the country for supplies of money; thence marched to Uske, where he set free some prisoners kept there; but the reducing of the country came to nothing, for the gentlemen did not perform, and he found there what usually comes to passe in such cases, that men desirous of alterations invite upon ample promises, but never make good, and seldome appeare in the businesse till the souldier hath done the worke to their hands, or they have gotten some stronge hold to secure their ingagements. So that the well-affected would not declare themselves, because a running army could be no lasting support, and they had no strong hold, nor the stream of the people,

which were at the devotion of the Earle of Worcester, almost an universall land-lord in that county.

Whilst these things are acted Prince Maurice enters Tewksbury with a power of horse and foot added to those former under the command of the Lord Grandeston, resolving to make after Sir William Waller, and to intercept his return out of Wales, for he was gotten into such a nooke of the land in the enemies' country, that the prince might easily drive him to a *non ultra*. Wherefore a bridge of boates was made over Seaverne at Tewksbury, that they might passe to and fro nearer the retreat of our army. Here the prince marched over with a body of two thousand horse and foot, confident of this designe, and therefore too remisse and slow in his advance. Sir William was nimble in the retreat, caused his foot and artillery to passe over Seaverne at Chepstow, and himselfe with his horse and dragoones passed through the lower part of the forrest of Deane neare the river side, and before the enemy had notice of his march sent forth two parties to fall upon two of their maine quarters, which was performed whilst the maine body slipt between both, and a party was left to face them and make good the retreat, which came off something disorderly, and with the losse of a few private souldiers. It was an exquisite conveyance, and unexpected felicity that brought them out of the snare through those intricate waies. This alarme quickly reached Gloucester, and Lieutenant Colonell Massie drew out three hundred foot and two troops of horse to fetch off our men, but if he found them dis-ingaged, for a further designe. This party met them within two miles of the towne, where the governour made knowne to Sir William Waller his purpose to set upon Tewksbury, and taking the opportunity of the prince's absence, and the enemies' jollity at our supposed totall defeate, instantly advanced upon them, and by break of day brought up his men before the towne, one part whereof fell in to the Ham, seased upon the guard left with the

bridge of boats and cut off that bridge, the horse with the rest of the foot came up Gloucester way, the forlorne hope surprised and slew the sentinell, climbed over the workes, and cut down the draw-bridge; whereupon both horse and foot rushed in, and the party on the other side of Avon ready to enter: there were left in the towne neere three hundred men commanded by Sir Matthew Carew, whom the triumph of yesterdaie's conceived victory laid asleepe, and the sudden alarme roused up, first into a shuffling fighting posture, and after halfe an houre to a nimble escape. Sir Matthew Carew fled, and many escaped the hands of our men, who wanted numbers to surround the towne, but most of the common souldiers, and some valuable officers were taken. Oxford was as miserably gulled in these passages, and in a few houres extreamely affected with contrary reports; for the jocund newes of the vanquishing of Sir William Waller arrived early in the morning, but before noone an expresse came of the losse of Tewksbury, which was cast upon the heat of the first report like cold water into a boyling pot.

The same day a party of Prince Maurice his horse appeared from the top of a hill neere Tewksbury, and intimated the approach of his whole army; whereupon Sir William Waller marched thither that evening, and resolved to breake downe or make good the bridge at Upton upon Seaverne, besides which there was no passe nearer than Worcester; but the scouts gave notice that the prince had recovered the bridge and set a guard upon it. The next morning Sir William advanced towards the prince, and found him in Ripple Field with his army drawn up, and divided into three bodies, besides the hedges lined with musketeers. Here our forces faced the enemy in a large field, and could hardly reach the third part of the prince's strength, brought up their gunnes, having neither shot prepared nor cannoneers that understood the businesse, nor the assistance of foot, save only a part of the governour's owne company, besides the wind and sun were against them, and no retreat if need

were, but through a narrow lane of two miles long; and whereas they might stand upon the top of a rising ground to deceive the enemy with the semblance of a greater power behind, they descended a little on the side of the hill, and discovered their weaknesse to a full view. In this posture some perswaded to fight, and began to make some shot with the ordnance which gave no shew of the least execution; but some other officers examined the cannoneere, and finding neither fit bullet nor any convenient shot, but all things at randome, earnestly dissuaded either to make the onset, or expect the enemy in that place; and advising likewise the tryall, discovered their ambuscadoes within the hedges. Hereupon Sir William Waller fell back, and entred the narrow lane commanding a party of dragoons to face the prince's army, and the musketeeres to stand at the corner of the lane within the hedges to make good the retreat. The enemy fell on, not a man of those dragoons would stand to receive the charge, but hurried away, broke over the hedge, fell among and disordered our owne musketeers, the enemy clapt in after them, cut down foure or five of the foot, and tooke as many prisoners; Lieutenant Colonell Massie kept close to his foot, and instantly dispatcht to Tewksbury for a supply, and Sir Arthur Hazelrigg prevailed with his owne troope to charge, and in his owne person performed gallantly; the foot with those horse put the enemy to a stand, and in part tooke off the foulennesse of the retreat through that strait passage. When they came to the next open place our men had the advantage of a ditch to stay the persuit, and in the heat of the chase one foot souldier at the command of the governour turned upon the enemy a gate then cast off the hinges; which barred their entrance and enabled our men to draw up for a charge; here for a while they stood in a maze, but on a suddain faced about, ran flock-meale, the enemy upon their backs, and the close of this action was like to be miserable, but at the entrance a strait passage neere the Myth Hill, a supply of foot from the

town opportunely met them, gauged the enemy and put them to a stand once more, whilst the governour charged the leader of the forlorne hope hand to hand, and was rescued by the gallantry of some officers, when of ours only a small party of horse remained in the field, the rest being got off in great confusion. Yet the escape might equall a victory, and the saving of the forces passe for cleare gaine. Prince Maurice did not attempt the regaining of Tewksbury, the government whereof was intrusted to Sir Robert Cooke, who had newly raised a regiment of foot by commission from Sir William Waller.

At that season the main strength of the king's army was drawn from these parts when Redding was beleaguerd by the Earle of Essex, by which meanes the parliament forces had a large and free game in this countrey, went on with a full stream of successe, driven with a gentle gale of Providence, and a kinde of unimitable happinesse, in unbloody victories. The fortune of the former did over-rule the event of the succeeding action, and the name and presence of Sir William Waller did include more than a thousand men. Neither was he wanting to himselfe, but made the best use of his present fame, and kept it up by constant active endeavours, lest a little intermission might permit the enemy to recollect himselfe, or the reall weaknesse of this army be discerned. It was therefore suddenly resolved for Hereford, whither he advanced with a thousand horse and dragoons, assisted by the governour, with the greatest part of the Lord Stamford's regiment: there were also the beginnings of Colonell Thomas Stephens his regiment. The maine body of horse and foot were drawn up before Bister's gate on the north side of the town, stood aloof off and shot at random; till the lieutenant colonell commanded Captain Grey with a party of musketiers over the river, towards Wie bridge, whose march was secured by a rising bank under the walls. These were ordered to make shew of an assault, and if need were to fall back unto the

water side, where seconds were placed for their relieve. The enemies' horse sallied out upon them, whom that party having gallantly kept off, and forced back into the city, withdrew thence and gained a church within pistoll shot of St. Owen's gate, whence our musketiers plaied on the walls, and exceedingly terrified those within. But the main rest of the businesse was the name of a conquering army, which Sir William Waller improved to the best advantage by all expedition and industry: and to help forward, Massie drew up two sakers in a strait line against Wigmarsh gate, not without extream hazard by shot from the walls; himselfe gave fire, and the first canon shot entred the gate, took an officer's head from his shoulders, and slew some few besides. More shots were made, each of which scoured the streets, and so daunted the enemy, that they presently sounded a parley, which was entertained by Sir William Waller, and hostages given on both sides; the parley lasted almost the whole day, whilst most of the common souldiers ranne over Wie bridge into Wales, only the commanders and gentlemen remained and were reported to be held in by the townsmen, to sweeten the surrender, and obtaine better quarter. Next morning they rendred: the chiefe prisoners here taken were the Lord Scudamore, Colonell Coningsby, Sir William Crofts, &c. few horse and private souldiers, but store of armes and ammunition. The town compounded, was secured from plunder, and after fourteen dayes deserted. Sir William Waller obtained many faire victories, but had no power to make them good, because his field was too large for that strength; and the state made an inconsiderable number of men the only stay of the remote parts. These could over-run the enemies' countrey, but get no ground, master no strong hold, nor reduce a people naturally malignant, that were dashed at present, but did flourish again in the reverse of the king's army. The next attempt was made upon Worcester, whither all the horse and the greatest part of the blue regiment were drawn. They at

Oxford were said to have yeelded that town for lost, and to give out that Sir William was gone to take possession of his purchase. For at that time treason was the pretended cause of every losse on both sides; especially if weak and unworthy. Both horse and foot came up before the city, where they lay a day and a night, effected nothing, and were drawn off at the noise of the Lord Capel's advance; at which instant Sir William Waller was taken off these parts, and ordered to march into the west, with all speed to prevent the joyning of Sir Ralph Hopton's forces with the rest of the king's army. Sir Robert Cook's regiment was called off from Tewksbury for the western expedition, and that town once more slighted.

Hitherto Lieutenant Colonell Massie governed the city of Gloucester by deputation from the Earle of Stanford, whose returne was not expected; wherefore the thoughts of the citizens began to enquire after a governour. They thought well of a man neare home, and cast their eye upon a knowne patriot. Neverthelesse more intelligent men upon the serious review of the citie's continuall hazard, found that the necessity of this place did require a tried souldier, and that such a one might possibly be found faithfull; but a timorous or unskilfull man must needs ruine all. Wherefore they reflected on Massie, whose good services gave them also a competent assurance of his fidelity; that by the happy choice of the citizens and the lord general's commission, he was appointed governour. To enable the city to defend itselfe, a foot regiment was raised by commission from Sir William Waller out of the town men, for the major part both officers and souldiers, under the command of Colonell Henry Stephens. The first intention of this regiment was to defend the city only within the walls, according to the infancy of warre; but the hard service of this place did suddenly require and exact the full duty of souldiers. At this instant the city was well becalmed, only there hapned one passage of inferi-

our nature, but full of the fortune of warre. The governour with a party of an hundred and twenty horse and dragoons, advanced towards Stow in the wold, to beat up the enemies' quarters; by break of day he fell into slaughter, took a lieutenant, twelve troopers, horse and armes, and thence marched to Odington, a mile beyond Stow, where he surprised a captaine of a troop with forty men and horse, and so made homewards, neglecting the residue of the enemy, who drew out of their quarters with all speed. The remainder of their regiment fell upon the reere of our men, neare unto slaughter with some slight execution, but were beaten back. The governour being confident he was able to fight with them upon any ground, made no haste to march off, till the enemy had received a supply of horse from Sudely castle, and again charged him at Andover's foord, whom our men received gallantly, and repulsed without any losse. The captaine that led the van was slain by the governour's hand, and the rest wheeled about; whereupon the governour dismounted the dragoons, and divided his men into three bodies, the horse to the right and left wing, in this posture resolving to march up to the enemy (who would gladly rid their hands of the businesse) but having advanced a little distance, and looking back to bring on his men, saw the greater part in a strange hurry, occasioned by the facing about of some cowardly spirits, and himselfe with those dismounted men desperately engaged; for awhile he shuffled amongst the enemies' troops, till observing himself eyed by some, he sprang forth, fired in their faces, and came last off the field upon the maine roade. He offended here, by affecting too much gallantry, and was deceived in his new raised men, who were not hardned by the sight of an enemy. Besides, no ordinary care was had of securing the prisoners, who were all recovered back. Four of ours were slaine, many wounded: Colonell Stephens, a lieutenant, with five and twenty private souldiers taken prisoners. The springing hopes of Colonell Stephens failed unfortunately, when his eager minde,

engaged him in the action without order, and against the will of the commander in chiefe; he had no command in the action, but hasted after as greedy of the service; he was led captive to Oxford, and a while after breathed his last in that poysonous ayre, where many gentlemen were observed in those dayes to expire.

Amidst these things Sir John Winter, a zealous papist, began to declare himselfe. A subtile wit, that pretended innocency till his houre was come, and had almost perswaded the world that he durst deny himselfe, and commit an unpardonable sinne against the catholike cause. His house in the forrest of Deane was at first neglected, when it was in the power of this garrison to ruine his designe. But under hand he prepared for defence, suddenly clapt in his owne confidents, and with a little labour made it inaccessible, but with apparent great losse, and maintained his den as the plague of the forrest, and a goad in the sides of this garrison. These things were acted about the time of that blow almost fatall to the parliament's cause, in the vanquishing of Sir William Waller's army at the Devices; which defeat cast these parts of the kingdome into a miserable plight, when the state had placed the whole game in the successe of this army, never providing a reserve. The king became master of the field, the parliament left without an army that could check the enemy, who came up to our gates, and by threats would seeme to shake the walls of the city. Many began to prepare for flight, whose presence no reall necessity, but the people's opinion did require. They at Bristoll disclosed their feares, and gave no good presages. And when that city was yeelded, Gloucester did stand alone without help and hope. The lord general's army pined away: Sir William Waller at London for a recruit: the Earle of Stamford shut up within the walls of Exeter: the king's country reached from the utmost Cornwall to the borders of Scotland, and he was able to divide his army, one part for Exeter, and the other for Gloucester.

That sudden surrender of Bristoll, which was almost beyond our feares, brought forth a dark gloomy day to the city of Gloucester. The mindes of people were filled with amazement, and the failing of such a promising government made most men infidels, or at least to question all things. But here was the greatest mischief of all: many were not wanting to debate upon the maine cause of the kingdom; malignant spirits took the advantage of our misery, and unstable minds, who beholding only the surface of things, and led by the common voice of their equals were flushed in prosperous times, now became crest-fallen, and questioned the passages of state, conceiving each miscarriage a fundamentall error, and accounting their present sufferings not for religion and liberty, but some scruples of state policy. The state of things required strong resolution; the usuall posture could not pretend to the safety of the place. The souldiers therefore acted with mindes more sturdy and vigorous as desperate concerning the enemy, but not in despaire of their owne party. The commanders reserved no place of retreat, and if causelesse jealousies over-clouded any, they put themselves upon a free declaration. The old and carefull souldiers who were unlucky in the censures of the people, upon the first arrivall of the sad newes from Bristoll, vented themselves in sharp and cutted speeches, which bursting from the fulnesse of the thoughts, did imprint and pierce, were received for good prognosticks, and repaired likewise that credit, which the presumption of a conceived opinion bore down, and an ordinary good behaviour could hardly raise up, but happily regained by one violent and severer passage. The officers were to give in a full resolve, that no place be left for an after dispute; wherefore they vowed never to see within the gates the face of a conquering enemy. But chiefly the hearts of the people were to be held up, wherefore the governour appeared in publicke, rode from place to place with a cheerfull aspect, and bearing before him no change in the sudden alteration of fortune. To them that enquired into his

very thoughts, he gave assurance of safety, concealing the danger, or lessening its esteem. Fear did not beget confusion, but things were transacted in a calm and constant order. The presages of misery were exquisitely shunned, and the least shew of distraction and weaknesse forbidden. Money, plate, valuable goods, or any kinde of riches were not suffered to passe the gates, but here to rest as in a safe treasury, that the people might resolve upon a happy deliverance or an utter destruction. Neverthelesse, whosoever was weak and faint-hearted, had leave to depart the city. Meane-while the enemy dealt underhand, and by the mediation of seeming friends, affectionately solicited a surrender, with terrible information of our manifold losses abroad, of the rage of the king's army, and inevitable desolation; and withall tendred the opportunity of an accommodation between his majesty and the citizens. The mouthes of the viler people were filled with curses against the authours of our engagements. We received strange intimations of dreadfull things concerning the state. The whole countrey forsook us, and employed some to represent their desires and thoughts of the businesse, who in the generall had so farre revolted from themselves, as to perswade us to make our peace with the enemy, and to befool and execrate our perseverance; for they conceived the standing out of Gloucester, however advantagious to the commonwealth, yet miserable for them; because by the falling down of a great army, they expected a destruction of corn and cattle, and if at last the king should not take in this place, to stoop perpetually under two burthens, and be cast into a remedillesse condition of misery and poverty. Whereas if the enemy should prevaile, they were sure to rest in the heart of the king's countrey, farre from spoile and plunder, and have as free and ample trade as in times of peace. The citizens examined their own strength and grounds of perseverance; a common councell was held, the officers being present, their late protestation brought to remembrance, by which

they were all obliged never to act or comply with the adverse faction, and upon that pretext joyntly refused the tender of peace. Nevertheless a great number of the inhabitants were only not malignants, but born up by the zeale of the rest, and the souldier's power; and those stuck most to the businesse, who were held up by the deep sense of religion, or acknowledged a necessity to withstand a malicious and enraged enemy, whose implacable hatred urged them to offend against their own designs, and by horrid threatnings to make the attempt more desperate. A den of rebels was the common language: a few dayes' respite recovered the city, and reports of a sudden reliefe did reare up the spirits of the common people. No crosse, show, or doubtfull resolutions did hinder the businesse; all suspended their private cares, and the women and children acted their parts in making up the defects of the fortifications. The strength of Gloucester was no more than two regiments of foot, an hundred horse with the trained bands, and a few reformadoes; there were besides about an hundred horse and dragoons from Berkley castle, in the whole about fifteen hundred men: forty single barrels of gunpowder, with a slender artillery. The works of a large compasse, not halfe perfect; from the south-gate eastward almost to the north port, the city was defended with an ancient wall lined with earth to a reasonable height; thence to the north-gate, with a slender work upon a low ground, having the advantage of a stone barn that commanded severall wayes: upon the lower part of the city, from the north to the west-gate, (being a large tract of ground) there was no ancient defence, but a small work newly rayzed, with the advantage of marish grounds without, and a line drawn within from the inner north-gate under the colledge wall to the priory of St. Oswald's. From the west towards the south-gate along the river side, no more defence than the river itselfe, and the meadowes beyond leuell with the town: from the castle to the south-port, a firme and lofty work to command the

high ground in the suburbs. The ditches narrow, but watered round. In this posture did the city stand when the king's forces hovered over the hills, and now and then skirted upon the town, before a close siege was laid: upon the tenth of August, they came down like a torrent full of victory and revenge, with indignation that a forlorne city should stand before them. Nevertheless they would faine overcome without blood, and the losse of time, then pretious in their full career of victory. For which end his majesty came in person before it, that the terror of his presence might prevaile with some, and the person of the king amaze the simple, and seem to alter the case. Thus they began to work, because the mayor had answered a former summons from Prince Rupert, that according to his oath he kept the town in his majestie's behoof, and some whisperers gave a malignant intimation that the king's presence would sway the people. And it was so, that the town was held for the use of his majesty, but according to the sense of the houses of parliament, and the citizens put no difference between a command in person or deputation, whereupon his majesty gave this honourable summons by two heraulds at armes.

CHARLES REX,

Out of our tender compassion to our city of Gloucester, and that it may not receive prejudice by our army, which we cannot prevent if we be compelled to assault it: we are personally come before it, to require the same, and are graciously pleased to let all the inhabitants of, and all other persons within that city, as well souldiers as others, know that if they shall immediately submit themselves, and deliver this city to us, we are contented freely and absolutely to pardon every one of them without exception, and doe assure them in the word of a king, that they nor any of them shall receive the least dammage or prejudice by our army in their persons, or estates. But that we will appoint such a governor, and

a moderate garrison to reside there as shall be both for the ease and security of that city, and the whole county. But if they shall neglect this offer of grace, and favour, and compell us by the power of our army to reduce that place (which by the helpe of God we shall easily and shortly be able to doe) they must thanke themselves for all the calamities, and miseries that shall befall them. To this message we expect a cleare and positive answer within two houres after the publishing hereof? And by these presents doe give leave to any persons safely to repaire to, and returne from us, whom that city shall desire to imploy unto us in that businesse, and we do require all the officers and souldiers of our army, quietly to suffer them to passe accordingly.

The king by this time drew into the field before the towne, attended by Prince Charles, the Duke of Yorke, Prince Rupert, and Generall Ruthen, faced us with about six thousand horse and foote on that side, and two thousand horse on the other side. After some debate upon the message, an answer was drawn, consented unto, both by citizens and souldiers, and presented to his majesty by Serjeant Major Pudsey, and a citizen.

We the inhabitants, magistrates, officers, and souldiers, within this garrison of Gloucester, unto his majestie's gracious message return this humble answer, that we do keep this city according to our oath and allegiance, to and for the use of his majesty and his royall posterity, and doe accordingly conceive our selves wholly bound to obey the commands of his majesty signified by both houses of parliament; and are resolved by God's help to keep this city accordingly.

His majesty with all mildnesse seemed to receive this answer, only to wonder at our confidence, and whence wee expected suc-

cour, adding these words, Waller is extinct, and Essex cannot come. The enemy advanced forwards into the suburbs on the east side, where they lost a commander in the first skirmish, and the rest were fired out; for upon the returne of the messengers the suburbs on each part of the city were all in a flame, which did secure and more strongly engage us, and which the enemy beheld as the act of desperate rebels; for those dreadfull sights doe seeme to highten and bloud the minds of men. The next day we discovered that they had begun their entrenchments on the south and east parts, the night before in the shadow and shelter of the houses which the flames had not catched, within musket-shot of the walls. They in the trenches plyed their worke whilest the musketeers played hard on both sides. Yet our men from the walls could doe little to retard their pioners, but by severall sallies with small parties fell into their trenches, beate them out, gained some working-tooles, armes and prisoners, and retreated without losse. Our ordnance likewise from the east gate killed some few, and among the rest a lieutenant colonell, and captaine of the queen's black regiment; Sir Jacob Ashley was then shot in the arme, and upon severall approaches we beat off the enemy, killed and wounded many.

By that time the Welsh forces under the command of Sir William Vavasour, were advanced to the bishop's house, halfe a mile from the west-gate, one of our outguards by us intended to keep off the approach of the Welsh, but now deserted for want of men, and that nothing might be lost which we purposed to defend. Here they left a sufficient guard and passed over the river to joyne with the forces that newly arrived from Worcester: who made their leager on the north-west side of the city. Generall Ruthen placed his leager behind the priory of Lanthony on the south-side very neere, but sheltred from our shot by a rising ground. Sir Jacob Ashley with a strong party quartered in some part of the suburbs on the

east-side. The east and south ports were dammed up, and rammed with a thicknesse of earth cannon prooffe, and the walls on that side from port to port were lined to the battlements, since there wee thought to receive the maine shock.

Three dayes after the siege laid, an hundred and fifty musketeers commanded by Captaine Gray, sallied over the workes upon the Worcester forces, with whom the Welch had not yet joyned, fell into their quarters, marched up to their maine guard, killed a captaine with eight or nine common souldiers, tooke five prisoners, divers armes, burnt their guard, and retreated without the losse of any; within a day after upon some suspition and kinde of intelligence that the enemies' ordnance lay undiscovered in some grounds neere the north-gate; Captaine Mallery was commanded forth with a hundred and fifty musketers to surprise it, but finding none, retreated without losse, having killed some, taken a few prisoners and fired some of their quarters. Upon the sixteenth of August an other party of an hundred and fifty musketers, commanded by Captaine Crispe sallied forth at the north-port, fell into their trenches under the town wall on the east-side, marched above halfe way through them, performed gallantly, killed above an hundred men as was confessed by some of the enemy, wounded many, beat them out of their workes, and by the helpe of our musketers from the wall, retreated without the losse of any, only two wounded after a very hot skirmish, for the space of halfe an houre, the cannon and musquets on both sides playing most furiously. These executions put those within on a desperate straine, and heated their minds with bloud.

The enemy was indefatigable and swift in the entrenchments. The workes from the south and east gates, hasted to meete each other; their preparations seemed more tedious, yet effectuell and certaine and tended withall to save the lives of their men. Wherefore they chused not a sudden storme on the lower and

weaker parts of the city, but rather to prepare the assault on the strongest side, yet most easy to their intention. For there only could they rayse the workes without the annoyance of the water-springs, that issued in the lower grounds; there only could they make battery within pistoll shot of the walls, that wanted flankers; and when they had once entred a breach there, they were instantly possest of the highest part of the town. On this side therefore were their ordnance brought up, and first two culverin of sixteen pound bullet were planted on the east side, a little out of musket-shot, where they made some store of shot, but did no execution. Next they planted three pieces of ordnance of foureteene and five and twenty pound bullet upon their battery in a square redoubt on the south-side, and began to batter the corner point of the wall, and a brick house adjoyning, where one of our men was killed, without more harme. Then they played upon our ordnance mounted against their battery point blanck, and made some slight breach, which was quickly stopped up with wooll-packs, and cannon baskets. By this time they had drawne the trench neer the moate, where they made a kind of mine to drain it, and sunk much of the water: and attempted to cast faggots into the moate, but were beaten off by our musketiers. At severall times they shot large granadoes out of their mortar-pieces many fell into houses and brake, but did no harme, and one that fell in the street had the fuz quenched before it came to ground, was taken up whole and found to weigh three score pound.

After the Welch and Worcester forces came up, foure peece of ordnance were drawn a good distance before the place of their leager, and one planted against the Awnegate, and the sconces thereunto adjoyning. Wherefore a party of about foure hundred musketiers commanded by Major Pudsey and Captaine Gray assisted by Captaine Faulkner, and Captaine Massey sallied forth of the northgate. Meane while a lieutenant with fifty musketteers was

sent over the works to give them an alarm, whilst the greater party got behinde their cannon and breastworkes, fell upon their maine guard, slew many officers, two canoneers with about a hundred common souldiers mortally wounded, took a lieutenant with foure more prisoners, nayled their cannon, and retreated with the losse only of two slaine, and about foure taken prisoners.

The enemy having planted three pieces of ordnance against the southside, and now three more on the eastside, and two more neer the eastgate within pistoll shot of the town wall, began a most furious battery upon the corner point, and made above an hundred and fifty great shot against it, whereby the stones were sorely battered, but the earth workes stood firme. By all this shot only two persons were hurt, for the battery was so neare, that if the bullet missed the wall, it flew quite over the town, or lighted at randome, yet in the intervalls of the great shot after each discharge our musketiers playd hard, and killed foure principall cannoneers, neither were the people daunted at the noyse of cannon, which by the slender execution, became so contemptible, that at that very time women and children wrought hard in lining the walls and repairing the breaches. The enemy continued the storme by sending granadoes which were guided by the hand of Providence into by-places, and sometimes falling upon the houses did rend and teare the buildings, when the people within were preserved.

After ten dayes' siege two severall parties were designed for the nayling of the enemies' cannon. These were commanded to fall into the trenches and march on till they met each other. The one party of about two hundred musketiers of the town regiment commanded by Captaine Stevenson and Captaine Moore, sallied forth at the northgate, to have fallen into their trenches at the east port, but by the mistake of their guide, over a marish ground and full of ditches, were brought round about to Sir Jacob Ashley's quarter, where most of them came not up; only forty musketiers encountred

with five colours of the enemy, slew divers of them, took two lieutenants prisoners, forced back the rest, and marching a little farther, faced and fired at eight colours more, and so retreated; in the retreat two troopes of the enemies' horse came on the reare, whom our men facing about and charging forced to fall back and made good their own retreat; in this distracted skirmish two of ours were killed, three hurt, and a sarjent taken prisoner. The other party of the Lord Stanford's regiment commanded by Captaine Blunt and Captaine White, sallied by boat down the river on the south part of the town towards the maine leagre, marched up to a square redoubt (our cannon in the meanwhile playing upon the houses in the suburbs) beat them thence, killed a major with some common souldiers, and advanced to meet the other party. But the design failing through the misguidance of the other party, they were called off, and by the help of our ordnance made a faire retreat without losse of any, only two wounded. The failing of the enterprize crossed a brave exploit and feasible, they might have scoured the trenches under the shelter of our walls: neither did the enemy take care to prevent them by turning the mouthes of any one piece of ordnance upon the entry of the entrenchment. Neverthelesse the crosse event did much amaze them, that a small party should runne up to their head-quarters, force their men, and recover back without a sensible losse. Certainly the care of a higher Providence preserved and brought off those many severall parties, when the vanquishing of any one of them must needs run the city upon extream hazard; for our whole strength remained upon the works day and night, except the reserve of a hundred and twenty men at the maine guard. One rare and slender rank were to receive the storme without seconds, yet the safety of the whole did require those frequent sallies, a desperate remedy to a despairing city: not only to cast back the enemies' preparations, but to amaze them, that the souldiers should be held up in such height of resolution,

and cause them to expect more hot service from within the works: our men likewise were to be kept in the heat of action to prevent the fainting of the spirits: their hands also imbrued in blood did the more enrage them. Nor by safer means could they overcome the terror, which by the reputation of the king's army might possess their minds: the enemy were kept waking by continual alarms to waste and weary them: and it was the care of the governor to cause a perpetual noise; that whensoever their cannon had been silent for awhile, one or two of our guns gave fire to disturb the calm, and signify to the country that we were yet alive; for the besiegers ever and anon scattered reports of the taking of the town, with a purpose to prevent our relief. All things within did presage a deliverance. The sadness of the times did not cloud the countenance of the people, they beheld their fortunes with a clear brow, and were deliberate and cheerful in the endeavours of safety. No great complainings were heard in our streets, no discontent seized on the soldiers, at other times prone to mutiny; men of suspected fidelity did not fail in action; every valuable person was active in his own place: the usual outcries of women were not then heard, the weakness of whose sex was not overcome by the terrible engines of war. And our becalmed spirits did implore divine assistance without confusion. The governor personally performed, ready at every turning of affairs, and gracing the business with speech and gesture; upon the least intimation of diffidence he pretended rational hopes of success, adding withal that our late yielding could not mollify the king's army; and if in the close we must needs be lost, no surer means of safety than by the utmost gallantry to constrain honourable conditions.

The enemy still prepared for a general storm, meanwhile seeking to waste our magazine, which they knew must needs suddenly fail, expended their own store, and daily acted to the terror of the inhabitants; shooting granadoes, fire-balls, and great stones out of

their mortar-peece, and had now planted a battery on the south-side westward, unto which the lower part of the town was open. Thence in one night they shot above twenty fiery melting hot iron bullets, some eighteen pound weight, others two and twenty pound weight, which were seen to fly through the ayre like the shooting of a starre. They passed through stables, and ricks of hay, where the fire by the swiftnesse of the motion did not catch, and falling on the tops of houses, presently melted the leads, and sunk through; but all the skill and industry of the enemy could not set one house on fire.

They still playd their great shot against the wals, and wrought hard in filling up the moat with faggots and earth at the place where they battered, where also they built a gallery over the head of the trench, the breadth of foure abreast; in the shelter whereof they had almost workt themselves over the moat. Then we found that they had sunk a mine under the east gate; whereupon the governour commanded a counter-mine in two places, but finding the springs, left off, conceiving for the same reason the endeavour of the enemy to no purpose. To discover or interrupt this work, a serjeant with five daring men were put forth at a port hole in the dungeon at the east gate, came close to the mouth of their mine, took off the board that covered it, and for a while viewed the miners. One of these cast in a hand-granado amongst them, whilst the foure musketiers played upon them as they ran forth, and with the noise of our men from the walls gave the whole leager a strong alarm, and crept in at the port-hole without harm. Wherefore discovering that the enemy notwithstanding the springs, went on with their mine, we renewed our countermine; for they had sunk a great depth under the moat, and extreemly toyled in drawing up the spring water, till at length they had gotten under the gate that our miners could heare them work under them, and did expect to spoyle them by pouring in water, or stealing out their powder.

For a remedy to this mischiefe, and withall the enemy having planted store of canon baskets within half musketshot of the east gate point blank, intending a battery there, upon the springing of their mine; we made a very strong work crosse the street with a large trench before it, and filled it with water, intending to raise it up to the eaves of the houses, and to plant some cannon there: we answered their severall approaches by so many counter works. A sconce was built upon a rising ground that looked into their trenches, where we could plant four piece of ordnance to cleare within the wals a ground called the Friar's orchard southward, and scoure their flank upon their entrance at the east gate, and so northward. Also an inner work was drawn from the south side along the middle of the orchard, and all passages stopt between that and the east port. And to hinder their gallery we began to undermine for a place to put forth a peece of ordnance at the bottom of the wall, to batter the flank thereof; which was perfected and a saker there placed. Commanded men were drawn out upon the walls, granadoes provided, and when the great gun played upon the gallery, the musketiers sent plenty of shot, and cast divers granadoes into their trenches; in the mean while (they firing their ordnance against the top of the wall) we cut off a maine beame of the gallery with our bolt shot. But the same day the enemy had sunk a piece against the port-hole of our mine, and forced us to withdraw the sakre, yet we cast them back three days work.

And because all this side of the town had no flankers, nothing did more offend the enemy in their entrenchments than an old barne at a corner point, near the north port, in which was mounted a peece that commanded three severall wayes, and obliquely looked into their trenches, and oft times did good execution upon the pioners. This was the chiefe strength of that side, conceived the weakest part of the town. Upon the key head an halfe moon was rayzed, with a breast-work upon Seavern side under the castle,

to defend an assault from those high grounds beyond the river, which was ever feared by those within.

His majesty constantly residing at a mile's distance, would not solemnly invite by publique summons, lest hee should detract from the honour of his enterprize: neverthelesse, those about him dealt underhand by sundry advertizements of the king's displeasure, threatnings, perswasions, and many intimations of possible grace and favour. Some of our neighbours in their own names desired admission to a conference, and perswaded the surrender of the city, in regard of the great power and terrible menacings of the enemy, with the small hopes and in a manner impossibility of reliefe; adding withall the heavy burthens under which the countrey groaned. The governour made answer, that we were sufficiently conscious of our own strength, and the ground of our resolution, and that we did not think our selves obliged to the enemy for the hopes and offers of favour. These manifold perswasions made the besieged more obstinate, and enabled them to understand themselves as a people worthy of entreaty, a prize worth the purchase, and in no wise lost or desperate, the enemies themselves being judges.

As the souldiers within were heated with their own performance, so the enemy without being wasted in a lingering design before the houre of service came, grew feeble in their own thoughts and to us contemptible. Our common souldiers took to themselves a liberty to revile, prevented and confounded the enemy with the self-same language in which they were wont to abuse and scorne our party; which contumely, though it begets a more deadly hatred and desire of revenge in generous mindes, at that time did deject exceedingly and debase the spirits of their private souldiers, who had never performed one gallant atchievement and to whom the sturdinesse of our men was well known. The slownesse of their design in that form of a leaguer, proceeded from the desire of saving their foot,

with this presumption, that there was no power to raise the siege; which confidence deceived them, till too late; for their foot after those many knocks, and the first fury spent, were not so capable of the service, without the help of many tedious preparations. Wherefore besides their mine and battery, they framed great store of those unperfect and troublesome engines to assault the lower parts of the city. Those engines ran upon wheels, with planks musket proof placed on the axel-tree, with holes for musketshot and a bridge before it, the end whereof (the wheels falling into the ditch) was to rest upon our breast works.

Our reliefe seemed slow, and the straitnesse of the seige debarred all intelligence. Only two spies which we sent out, returned from Warwick, and brought newes of the advance of the lord generall. The report of his Excellency, who then lay under a cloud, did give no great assurance. The truth is, the sense of the depth of our distresse did not reach us: Sir William Waller, upon whom the citizens of London cast their favour, had not the reliques of an army. The general's army crumbled away: the malignants of London fomented tumults in the city, and insurrections in Kent distracted the businesse. The house of lords voted a treaty with the king, the house of commons debated the matter. The resolution of Gloucester turned the stream, whose succour was resolved upon as the kingdom's safety. The recruit of the army was too slow for the service. The London trained bands or none, must relieve us; but could not agree who should undertake the businesse. Essex was not favoured but the more prudent saw that he must be the man. That none might decline the service upon whom the lot fell, the shop-windows were commanded to be shut up, and trading for a time suspended. The expedition was hasted in every pulpit, carried on with continuall fasting and prayer: an army was framed in an instant, and marched with incredible swiftnesse. Prince Rupert with the greatest part of the king's horse drew from

Gloucester to retard their march, but still appearing in the van did no more than drill them along. The enemy stayed before us till the last houre, judging every particle of time a great advantage, not knowing what a moment might bring forth. They within not satisfied with the former intelligence sent out two other spies with a double signall, first one fire on the side of a hill to signifie their escapes, and two fires on the same place if they heard good newes; which latter was accordingly performed and beheld by us.

The fifth of September was appointed for a publike fast, to be kept by such as might be spared from labour. This day we discovered their carriages marching from the leaguer, and their horse and foot marching after; yet we were not confident of the raising of the siege till the men were drawn out of the trenches, and the reer-guard fired their huts. We then perceived that God had sent a deliverance, and that in the close of a solemn fast, as a gracious returne of prayer.

This evening the lord generall came to the brow of the hills seven miles from the town, and fired a warning piece, but by reason of the contrary winds the report was not heard, neither did the newes reach us that night. Wherefore we did not venture upon the reere of the enemy with our slender and wearied forces, but kept as strong and watchfull guards as any time before; presuming that reliefe at hand had raised the enemy, yet suspecting that in point of honour they would attempt something worthy of a royall army. But abiding before us to the last extremity, they were driven away with great confusion, after so many vowes of victory and revenge when their mines, batteries, and engines were in readinesse. This hurry preserved the countrey from injury which by them was devoted to ruine. His majesty was forced to leave the town behinde him, and constrained to a tedious march in that tempestuous rainy night; their carriages were not got up the hills till the next morning, which distraction was not known to us:

and the general's army was tired with long and continuall marches. The admirable care of Providence was beheld in the season of our reliefe, when all things were prepared by the enemy for a generall storme; our ammunition consumed, but three single barrels of powder left in our magazine, and not so much more elsewhere: in the little harm done by their cannon and mortar-pieces, that sent amongst us so many terrible messengers. Our lost men taken or slain, did not amount to the number of fifty; and of these but two officers were slain, Captain Marcus and the governour's ensign; yet we killed of the enemy (who never ventured an assault) above a thousand men, by the lowest confession. The king expended much in ammunition, engines, and keeping together the discontented souldiers, besides the losse of his pretious time in that full tyde of victory. Here was a bound set to the swelling of those proud waves and the rock that split that army; when the queen was said to be transported with passion because her counsell was not followed, who advised the king to wave Gloucester and advance for London, whilst the parliament had no army in the field, the number of malignants in the city did equall the rest, began to rayse tumults, and the actions of state were unresolved. This city diverted the enemies thoughts from that rare opportunity, which not so conscious of the kingdom's weaknesse, held up beyond reason, and gave a breathing time to the state to effect its own reliefe. Great was the failing of the king's hopes in this defeat, who by the gaining of this town, would have held an undivided uninterrupted command, and the granary of the kingdome in the heart of his country, on the west bounded with the sea, cleare through the middle of the land to the northerne parts, where also the Earl of Newcastle's army prevailed and in breadth reaching from the utmost Wales to the London association, and backed with Ireland, with whom an accommodation was then preparing.

Nevertheless the raising of the siege was but an unperfect

deliverance. The successe of the general's army with the supply of our wants were to make it compleat. For the enemy continually lay at our doores, commerce was clean taken away, and we farre distant from the fountaine of future supplies ; wherefore during the stay of his excellency, parties of horse were continually sent abroad to fetch in provisions out of the enemies quarters, and malignants' estates. The granary was quickly filled. The generall left three culverins, forty single barrells of gunpowder, and set the garrison in order.

The London train-bands and auxiliaries supposing the work already done, and the date of their commission expired, earnestly contended homewards, yet must they break their way through the king's army, and give him some further blow to secure and perfect the reliefe of this garrison ; for so confident were the enemy of their own strength, that many thought his majesty ill-advised in not fighting with the Earle of Essex neare Gloucester : wherefore the generall was to secure his retreat, to take heed lest he be penned up in these parts, and with that speed made after the king's army (which by this time had gotten some miles in the van of our army) that some horse and foot out of the remote quarters marched above thirty miles before they rested. They came up before Cirencester where the king had left a strong party. The forlorne hope entred the town whilst the rest surrounded it, killed the sentinell sleeping, marched up to the market place without opposition (the enemy supposing them Prince Maurice his forces, that night expected) till they entred the houses and surprized them in bed, took foure hundred men, and thirty cart-loades of bread, cheese, and other provisions, a great reliefe in a wasted countrey, and the only support of the souldiers against the battle at Newbery.

The successe of which battell did close up with honour that happy and gallant undertaking of the lord generall, and the citizens of London : as brave a service as these warres can shew forth,

enobled by its wonderfull rise, lively progresse, nimble expedition, admirable fortune and honourable conclusion. Notwithstanding his Excellency had hereby disabled and broken the king's army, and secured the garrison of Gloucester from a sudden reverse; yet his own army was sorely bruised, and retiring to London, left but a little burthen upon the enemy on that side. By which meanes they were free to molest these parts and this garrison left to bear the brunt, provide for itselſe, and run the danger though not of an other siege, yet of blocking up and ruine by the spoyle of our countrey, which that party decreed to destruction; and the enemy at the doore and the distance of our friends did threaten no lesse. Not a man could be left by the generall to encrease our strength, nor money to content the souldier; there was only an assurance of help from the parliament, when the arreares of officers and souldiers were large; the governour made certaine propositions to the parliament concerning the support of this place; that since at such a distance he could not expect a constant supply, they would send down at once ten thousand pounds and a thousand men, farre below the place's due; according to the termes of the souldiers' entertainment, might set things in a thriving way, and enable the souldier to act of themselves without those continuall cravings and out-cryes against the state. Upon which termes the activenesse of this government gave assurance of the framing of an army to master the countrey then enthralled to the enemy, yea, to lie upon the enemies' quarters, consume their store, distresse their cheife garrisons of Bristoll and Oxford and endanger the rest as Hereford and Worcester, and stop their supply of men and money. Such a strong beginning had been more than halfe way to the end of the work.

But the state seemed to walk in a frugall course and desire a daily dropping of reliefe, rather than to entrust much, which is not the way of great performance nor can bring to the end of the

design; when as this rationall adventure might give the encrease of an hundredfold: and upon the failing hereof the greatest mischief could bee no more than the losse of that expence. Wherefore they voted a supply and raised men and moneys in a languishing way, that those five hundred listed for Gloucester were reduced to a fifty, ere they could reach us, and the greatest part of the money squandered away without a sensible advantage to this garrison.

After Newbery fight Sir William Vavasour was sent to Hereford, with a strong party to raise forces in those parts with commission to command in chiefe in the countreys of Gloucester and Hereford, and a command from his majestie to distresse Gloucester on the Welch side, and to garrison Tewkesbury.

Colonell Massie was not satisfied in keeping his own garrison, but eager of continuall service, to destroy or disable the enemy, for which no other place in the kingdome was conceived capable of the like advantage: wherefore by himselfe urged, he set upon the parliament with importunate complaints that for lack of strength great opportunities of service to us and disservice to them were lost. And a greater mischief did exercise this government, the want of men and money, and ammunition to defend it selfe; upon which, extreme scarcity of provision was like to follow, and in these hopes did the enemy blesse themselves; so that the advantage and honour of maintaining the city against the violence of an army was like to vanish in the lingring death of the place. And the governor was about to embrace an other command in the generall's army, yet reserving a submission to the parliament's pleasure, who required him to continue his service in this government. This charge was surrounded with difficulties, and each day brought forth some new birth. When the enemy begirt us in their winter quarters, the hopes of our promised succours were past without the convoy of an army. Not one gentleman of the countrey durst be seen to assist us, no member of parliament did reside here to en-

courage the businesse. All things rested upon the governour's sole care both to store the garrison with provisions, and raise money out of that small pittance of the countrey out of the enemies hands. The discontent of the souldier was now heightned and ready to cause a disbanding. To make good the place was the parliament's command: and inevitable necessity was the cheifest law to support it. Wherefore apprehending more misery than in the late siege, the governor was constrained to lay some easie taxation on the countrey to supply the present exigence, whilst the enemies power extended on all sides almost to the gates of Gloucester. Hereupon daily complaints were brought before him, that the taxes were unequally rated by the officers of the severall parishes, that such as were broken by the enemy, were rated as high as if their estates were entire. The governour represented these things to the parliament, earnestly begged their direction in his intended course, which by them was not in one syllable contradicted: wherefore at a councell of warre the condition of the countrey was debated upon, and an order made that some officers and citizens should be intreated as a committee to hear and rectifie the complaints concerning assessments, and to use that moderation which reason did require. Not long after a petition was presented to the governour in the name of the countrey, that one monthly rate without other charge, might be imposed upon them, likewise that the rate might be made according to equity, and the poore spared; that the money might bee paid in to the common treasurer, whence it should issue as necessity required, and that a choyce committee might be appointed to over-see all the money rated, received and disbursed. The governour to manifest his desire of the people's satisfaction, and that things might bee carryed in a just and equall way, ordered by the consent of a councell of warre, that a committee of officers, citizens, and countrey gentlemen, should regulate the assessments of the countrey according to their desires. Some of which gentle-

men not long after were of the committee for these counties by order of parliament.

Moreover, this committee moved at a councell of warre for a further power to heare and determine such businesses as by the governour's speciall order should be referred unto them, to examine upon oath, and commit all such persons (officers and souldiers only excepted) as should offer contempt; and this they enforced with these reasons: 1. Because there was no committee of parliament then in being, nor would any adventure such an undertaking in an oppressed and distracted countrey; and the necessities of the garrison did admit of no delay. 2. That this committee consisting of souldiers, citizens and countrey gentlemen would give satisfaction both to the countrey men, who payd their money, when themselves were acquainted with its necessity and desposall; and to the souldiers, who being privy to the receipt of the money and the countrey's indigence, might be contented with a slender entertainment: that at once it seemed to prevent discontent in the countrey, and mutiny in the souldier. 3. That the petitions of the countrey pressed upon the governour in such multitudes, that a great part of his time which might be spent against the enemy to better purpose, was taken up herewith, or many persons must needs be exposed to injury and oppression. 4. Because all course of law from Westminster was then stopped, not a lawyer left in the countrey, no court of equity to relieve the oppressed, or curb the extremity of the law, whose present want was not so much in settling estates and determining right, as in providing for the support of the garrison, then like to be ruined; of which the king's partie had as great a confidence as before the siege. No landlord could receive his rent, no intercourse of trade between man and man, whereby to enable them to pay taxations. And for these reasons such an order by the councell of warre was then assented unto.

In this the people never groaned under the governour's power; their voluntary submission was a witnesse of his moderation. And this authority had more of entreaty than constraint, only the sword had some influence of feare upon the injurious; the proceedings of the town-court not suspended, but sometimes entreated to forbear upon equitable considerations. And when the governour began to observe some derogation from his intentions, by this committee, he instantly sent a prohibition. It was never his thought to rule by the sword, but in a desperate case by the same to cut out a way wherein the rules of law and justice might freely passe. He was ever unwilling to take the charge upon him, and by severall letters requested the parliament, that the burthen of government might be layd upon some other; or if that charge must rest upon him, that they would send down a committee, that might take off the former cares, and permit him to look to the well ordering of his forces for the safety of this place, and to enlarge his quarters, that the service here might not bee only to keep Gloucester, but weaken the enemy, and beget friends daily to the parliament.

Such was the face of government within the city, whilst the enemy acted his part without, and bore down by force on all sides. From Hereford Sir William Vavasour with about seven hundred horse and foot marched into Tewksbury, with a purpose to garrison that town. A wide and open place not easy to be held by us, who had neither competent strength nor time to fortify, the king's forces continually lying upon us. Sir William made shew of settling the garrison, styled himselfe governour of Tewksbury, invited the countrey with promises of moderation and candour in all his proceedings; yet these Welch forces had scarce taken up their quarters, but received an alarum from Gloucester, by a party that went up in a friggot: and the common souldiers partly discontented with their officers, who had often deceived that innocent people, and betrayed them to the sword; and partly repining for want of

pay, fell into a desperate mutiny, forced their commanders, chose rather to be kill'd than to fight, and constrained their flight out of the town, hasted over Upton bridge, and did scarce look back, till safe in their own countrey: and it was to be suspected that many late knocks had beaten out their spirits, but chiefly that they were afraid of this countrey ayre, in which they could never thrive. By this meanes the excrescence of Sir William Vavasour's government was pared off, and himself driven to retire into Hereford.

Neverthelesse we are cooped up with the enemies garrisons round about, and wholly divided from the rest of the parliament's army. Sudely castle was maintained by the Lord Chandos, a great stop to our entercourse with Warwick, which was the only way of commerce with London, that a scout could not passe without extream hazard. Berkley castle was held for the king by a Scottish captain, and subdued the richest part of the county. In the heart of the forrest Sir John Winter strongly fortified and defended his own house: and now the enemy had put a garrison into Beverstone castle, resolving withall not to leave one strong house unguarded, both to enlarge their own quarters, and to stop our markets and contribution. Our governour began to look forth, and first for want of quarters was enforced to send abroad his own company, which were placed in a defenceable house at Frampton upon Severn. These were a stop to the incursions from Berkley, and furthered the safety of that side of the countrey. An hundred and fifty foot of Colonell Devereux his regiment garrisoned a strong house at Presbury, within foure miles of Sudeley castle. These sorely vexed the enemy in those parts, did a little open the passage towards Warwick, and the house proved a good resting place in the repasse. Another guard was set at Westbury on the edge of the forrest, to affront Sir John Winter, a most active enemy, and one chiefe agent of the popish faction. Sir John, assisted with the Lord Herbert's horse, threatned us out of the forrest, and had made

a passage over Seavern at Newnham, to afflict those parts beyond the river. Notwithstanding all this, our small party by continuall action upheld their repute. Some weeks after the raising of the siege, the governour marched with his two troops and two hundred musketers before Berkley castle. The musketers faced and kept in the enemy, whilst the horse fell into the countrey beyond to fetch in the persons of some principall malignants, but in stead of them met with the Lords Herbert's troops, and an hundred and fourty horse besides, which came to relieve the castle. Our horse with some few musketers fell upon them, put them to a retreat, and slew some few without any losse to our party, who drew off expecting the opportunity of a greater strength.

About this time Sir John Winter entred upon the government of Newnham; whereupon he took the courage to plunder the villages neare Gloucester: his horse came within three miles of the city, and drove away store of the countrey cattle. The governour receiving intelligence, drew forth his small number of horse not exceeding seventy, made after and pursued them to the entrance of their new garrison, where they had already secured their plunder: in the retreat five troops of the Lord Herbert's regiment fell on the reare; our men drew up in a narrow lane ready to receive the charge, fired upon them, and put them to a running retreat. An officer with twelve troopers made the pursuit, took one horse colours, and some prisoners, and killed a cornet, and quarter-master, which event made Sir John Winter for present quit that government with much distraction.

At that time there was no lofty stage of action, because the present enemy did yeeld no gallant opportunity. Sir John Winter was wise for himselfe, nimble in inferiour businesses, delighted rather in petty and cunning contrivance than open gallantry, referred all his industry to his own house, or the limits of the forrest, vexed his neighbours more than weakned his enemy, and advanced the catho-

like cause no other way than by the plague and ruine of the countrey.

On the other side of the city the enemy was imboldned to erect new governments at Tedbury and Wotton Underedge. These did invite the governour's march that way, who withall had his eye upon Beverstone castle newly garrison'd, and commanding the rich clothiers of Stroodwater: hither he advanced with a party of three hundred foot and four score horse. These horse sent before were so formidable to the enemy at Tedbury, that the governour Horatio Cary with his whole regiment were put to flight, and dissipated with the losse of fourteene of their men slaine and taken prisoners.

Colonell Massey brought up his men and two sakers against Beverston castle, where having surrounded it, hee planted his guns within pistoll shot of the gate, and gave fire severall times. Fifty musketiers ran up to the gate at noone-day and fixed a petarre, which neverthesse failed in the execution. Those from within threw granadoes amongst our men, but hurt none, who although thereby forced from the gate, yet they ran up the second time, being open to the full shot of a secure enemy, and brought of the petarre with much gallantry. The design was not feazible for a quick dispatch; for the gate was barricado'd within, the night came on, and those remote parts did promise no security to so small a party; likewise the state of the city required them nearer home: wherefore after twelve houres the party was drawn off, and in the retreat advanced towards Wotton Underedge, where the enemy had placed a kind of temporary garrison with a regiment of horse; they prepared for the comming of our forces, drew up on a hill before the town to face them, and at night retreated to their garrison; where our men arrived somewhat late, and found the enemy all mounted, fell upon them and put them to flight, of whom about six were slaine, and twelve taken prisoners, the rest escaping to Bristoll.

The next day by an over-ruling hand of Providence, our party

was led back to Gloucester, contrary to the hope of Sir John Winter and his complices. These having intelligence of the governor's absence with a strong party, and supposing the garrison thereby weakened, sent to all the quarters of the forrest: Monmouth and Herefordshire, to draw together and advance for the surprisall of Gloucester. It was afterwards suspected a complotment, to be managed by the assistance of malignants in the city. Late at night the governor had notice of the enemy in the forrest. Thereupon he commanded Captain Crispe to draw fifty muskietiers from the guards and march three miles that way, making good a house that stood on the passage. As yet there was no suspition of a plot, but before our party had passed a mile and halfe, they encountred the enemy who were drawn up horse and foot in a broad lane neare Highnam house, instantly fired upon them, slew a captaine, and some foure common souldiers. The enemy were amazed at the sudden and unexpected encounter, forced back with feare, and retreated to Huntly, where Sir John Winter had secured his own person: but distracted by the strange repulse, marched off in great confusion at the approach of fifteene horse that fell in amongst his whole brigade, slew seven or eight, and took ten prisoners.

This discomfited the enemy and dashed the designe; yet the Hereford and Monmouthshire forces kept their randevouz at Coford in the forrest, and still threatned the city. No meanes for the reducing of this place is left unattempted, and as this present treachery was the grand design and over-ruled all their proceedings, and prevented many mischievous acts of open hostility, which might easily have destroyed us; for divers malignant gentlemen of this county went about to cast this city into extreme poverty and exigence by the countrey's ruine: Wherefore conceiving the present enemies not sufficiently cruell, they importuned his majesty that Colonell Charles Gerrard might quarter upon us with his brigade, to

devour, spoyle and burn, besides the expectation of all the mischiefe the Lord Herbert and Vavasour can doe. But this malicious counsell and instigation though most opportune for the king's purpose, was afterwards crossed by their own party, waiting upon the successe of a close design.

About this time was the act of pacification made by the king with the Irish rebels, which began to undeceive the world, and wipe off the varnish of the former oathes and protestations. The world could not believe that any command or power could so soone allay and quell those Irish stormes, but that word which raised them up: then did the effect declare the cause of those rare and slow proclamations against that bloody rebellion, and strange intercepting of reliefe sent from the state to the distressed Protestants. The greatest admirer of the king's declarations could judge no lesse than that those rebells did better comply with his intentions than the parliament of England; since his majesty having two enemies, is resolved to make peace with one to crush the other; he will fall in with that party that carries least contradiction to his maine designe; and this was the rebell of Ireland; whose chiefe aime likewise his majesty must not abhorre: for there can bee no lasting compliance without a mutuall engagement. Besides, the heads of that rebellion were brought over not as accessaries, but principals in the king's warre, and admitted to the secret counsell. And to colour the pacification, the losse of that kingdome and all the sufferings of the English protestants were charged upon the parliament. The English forces in Ireland were possest with the opinion of neglect in the state, and were taken off the persuite of a just revenge upon those cursed rebels to warre against their native countrey, and teare the bowels of the mother that bare them, and therein act a part, and cast in their lot with the rebels themselves.

Some of these Irish forces landed at Bristoll, and thence fell down upon Gloucestershire: Colonell Min, and Sir William St.

Leger, with both their regiments, making up eight hundred or a thousand foot, and a hundred horse, all resolved men, with eight piece of ordnance, advanced to Thornbury. Colonell Massie proclaimed entertainment to all such as would tender their service to the parliament, and many private souldiers resenting the difference of the cause came over daily. About the twentieth of December, a party of two hundred horse and dragoones commanded by Captaine Backhouse, were designed to beat up their quarters at Wotton, where they were lately arrived from Thornbury: wherefore the party advancing thither, suddenly fell in among them, and found eight hundred men, charged up to the maine guard, and for a while were masters of foure piece of ordinance, but over-matched and borne down by their numbers, were forced to retreat, yet having first slaine, wounded, and taken many of them without the losse of a man. At the same time some of Colonell Vavasour's forces undertook to settle at Upton upon Seaverne, but at the first shew of an approach from Gloucester quitted those quarters.

Once more doe the clouds gather round about, the storm, threatned by the enemies' fury, and more violently driven by the malice of some countrey gentlemen, begins to arise; the malignant gentlemen of Cotswold provide armes, and garrison strong houses. Forces from Oxford were expected at Painsewick and Stroud; the Irish were to lie on this side Berkely, the Lord Herbert and Sir John Winter in the forrest, the Lord Chandos at Cheltenham, Sir William Vavasour and Sir Walter Pie at Tewkesbury, so that by them our destruction is decreed and seemes as a thing done.

Every corner of the country is pestered with the enemies' garrisons, as Newneham, Lidney, Monmouth, Hereford, Worcester, Dimmock, Newent, Highleaden, Tainton, Tewkesbury, Sudely, Saperton, Beverston and Berkely. Opposite to these was the governor constrained to erect petty garrisons, as many and as neare as possible; for the king's forces were againe advanced out of Here-

fordshire with a greater strength and well prepared. Sir William Vavasour, Sir Walter Pie, and Colonell Wroughton are arrived at Tewksbury, and began to fortifie, having a great power with them till the town was settled, and made strong; yet still disturbed by continuall alarums from Gloucester, though the land-flouds hindred our design upon them. The Irish regiments rose from Wotton, and thence made over the hills for Tewksbury. And because their march was interrupted by our parties, the Lord Chandos' horse joyned with them to strengthen and secure their advance to Cheltenham; whither they came with foure small piece of ordnance. Our men still flirted upon them. And a party of horse and dra-goones commanded by Major Gray, fell that night into Charlton Kings, and had surprized the Lord Chandos in his quarters, had he not made a private escape, where the search after him caused the losse of seven or eight private souldiers; yet they slew some of the enemy, took ten prisoners and some few horse. The next day the horse and foot bended their course to Tewksbury; our men waited upon the march, and kept them up close, that those parts of the countrey received but little dammage; when these had joyned with the other regiments, they were supposed to make neare upon two thousand six hundred horse and foot.

After a little stay, a part of these forces were drawn off towards Warwickshire, to joyne with the enemy that there waited the intercepting or surprizall of our supplies from London, then long and earnestly expected and noised abroad, our powder being well nigh spent, and necessity constraining us to use a kind of match made of bast. Sir Walter Pie's foot, and Colonell Wroughton's horse remained at Tewksbury to block up the city on that side, in and about which town fifteen hundred horse and foot were constantly quartered; Colonell Washington's regiment kept garrison at Evesham, and a regiment of horse lay at Parshore, besides a considerable strength at Sudely. These thought to swallow up our approach-

ing succours, or if they did not come, speedily to compell us to yeeld up the city; for it was reported with the enemy, and believed by many, that we suffered extream penury.

And though provisions were not much wanting, being in a fat countrey, yet the reall exigences of the garrison were great; for lack of pay the discontents of the souldiers were desperate and endlesse. In most of the officers a generall neglect of duty, who for the least check would throw up their commissions, to the governour's great discontent and trouble. Many inferiour officers forsook us, and common souldiers ranne to other places that yielded a large and constant entertainment, and required lesse service; whilst honest and gallant men that did not desert their colours, were exposed to misery and want; yet could we not want men, who daily offered themselves to the service, had wee moneys to pay them. Neither had wee any power of men to raise moneys for the garrison's maintenance. Our out-guards, as Presbury. Wesbury, Essington, Frampton, Froster, set to preserve the countrey, and keep the markets open, did eat up the greater part of the contribution, and consume our men and ammunition, besides the daily sending out of parties. It was a kinde of shifting life: and wonderfull, that the officers' command should finde the least measure of obedience. Some officers did expend their own meanes to keep their companies entire; the governour was necessitated at his own charge to billet above threescore souldiers, besides the charge of a troop. The countrey was impoverished, the commission of excise not yet settled, and brought in no considerable summe. The citizens were restrained of trade, and the wayes of commerce stopped up; and therefore at present they were quite lost to the garrison. Besides the slownesse and low reports of our succours did exceedingly dis-hearten the people. Many countrey gentlemen who were not the confidents of the contrary faction, were about to comply with this government, especially upon the parliament's declaration of

pardon; but the notice of those slender supplies, and the thought of the states' supposed neglect, turned them off, and made them more violent against us. For this lasting suspense and bondage under two parties did vex them: wherefore his majesty was again importuned, to destroy and fire the countrey, if he could not lodge his forces so neare as to block us up.

The garrison neverthesse did not only defend its own territories, but made sundry adventures and inrodes upon the enemies' quarters, staved off, and kept them within their bounds. The governour had built a friggot for service upon the river, to secure the countrey near Gloucester, on that side Seavern, because the enemy commanded greatest part of the river, and landed at their pleasure upon our quarters, from Bristoll and Wales. This friggot was sent down Seavern manned with sea-men and a party of souldiers, for whatsoever attempt sudden opportunity should offer; and arriving at Chepstow, our musketteers hasted ashore, and entred the town, where they surprized most of the officers of Colonell O'Neale's regiment, rayzed under the command of the Lord Herbert. These never dreamed of an enemy from Gloucester, in that corner of the land, at such a distance. And this was the advantage of the service, that by the surprisall of the officers, it prevented the raysing of that regiment of horse which shortly after would have plagued the countrey. Our men having secured their prisoners, and ready to make homewards, another prize fell into their hands, where they took a vessell laden from Bristoll with oyle, wine, sugar, and other commodities. These little services were answerable to the times, and upheld the esteem of the garrison in that low ebbe. This expedition gave an alarum to Bristoll, and all Wales, who to prevent the like inrode, sent up divers friggots to guard the river.

At this time Sir William Vavasour began to appeare from Tewksbury, and made an attempt upon Bodington house, a petty garrison of ours, only to preserve the countrey. Hither he came

up with five hundred foot and two peeces of ordnance, fired his gunnes against the house, and engaged himselfe in an assault. The place was maintayned by them within, till a small party drew from Gloucester, the report of which (at three miles distance) caused Colonell Vavasour to draw off and return back to Tewkesbury, with the losse of eight or ten men before the house. Neither did Vavasour seem to act with that violence, which the out-side of the enemies design did look for: whether retarded by the dulnesse of nature, or the notice of some close contrivance. However, the slownesse and ill successe of his actions rendred him obnoxious to the jealousies of his own party; which suspition was easily encreased by the intercourse of civility between him and Colonell Massie, when the known fidelity and constant indeavours of the one could inable him without offence to his own side to disport with an enemy in such complements, as the other had not the liberty to use. Such neglected passages have a great weight in the ballance of reputation and honour: since the minde is not revealed by it selfe, and wise men as well as fooles oft-times have only the event to guide their judgements.

On the other side of the town, we had continuall skirmishes with Colonell Veale, newly made governour of Berkly castle, and assisted with the Lord Inchequeen's regiment of horse. This enemy was no way formidable nor mischievous in any thing save the plunder of the countrey, by whom hee was oft-times beaten back and kept in awe by the assistance of Frampton garrison. The church at Newnham was againe fortified and defended by Sir John Winter with a sufficient strength of men, and foure pieces of ordnance, whence hee might runne up to the gates of Gloucester, rob the countrey and take men's persons at pleasure, only we kept a guard at Arlingham to hinder his passage over Seavern.

Colonell Min lay strong at Newent, Highleadon, and Tainton: the governour could doe little on that side, only he placed a garri-

son at Hartpury court, both to preserve Cosselawne, and to endeavour the engagement of Colonell Min. Our garrison at Frampton was removed to Slimbridge within foure miles of Berkley; we had other guards likewise at Essington and Froster, to preserve and enable the people to contribution. Thus was the city pestered on every hand, and fetched its livelihood out of the fire, with continuall hazard, forcing the enemies quarters, and defending its own; parties were daily drawn out by the governour, who then could not aime at victory, nor expect any great performance, though the common people repined that he did not alwayes conquer, when it was conquest enough to keep the enemy in action, and prevent their extravagances, to beare up the hearts of our friends, and signifie to the world that we were yet alive. Though the governour was not invited abroad, yet he strove to make opportunities according to the stock of ammunition that was left him; that counsell might spring out of the midst of action. He drew out upon Tainton with two hundred muskietiers, and with a hundred horse faced the house, only to keep in or amaze them, but when the horse marched off, some of their troopes fell on the reare-guard and charged the governour, who re-encountred and charged home some distance before the rest of the troop, and by the breaking of the curb, his horse carryed him amongst the enemies troopes, with whom for a while he grappled, and was rescued by the gallantry of a common trooper, by which time our muskietiers were brought up, and beat them back without losse to us.

The governour choosed rather to make work for the enemy, and to seek him in his own quarters, than lie at home to expect the challenge: yet did he play a wary game, and though zealous of honour, yet more true to the maine chance and tender of the lives of men: wherefore hee advanced againe with foure hundred muskietiers and fifty horse, came before Tainton, and with a small party faced the house, having laid some ambuscados with a purpose to allure them

into the snare, and cut off their men as well to encourage the countrey as weaken the enemy, but they did not adventure out. When we drew thence, our men beheld a faire body of horse at Highleaden, whereupon a forlorn hope of our muskietiers with twenty horse advanced upon them, and found their horse and foot drawn out of Highleaden house: these were to joyn with Colonell Min, who at that instant was marched out of Newent, with a purpose to fall on Hartpury garrison. Here at the first some few of our horse gave the charge, hurried the enemy and beat up their ambuscadoes: then they drew out their whole garrison and fell on; their horse did not stand to it, but with their foot there was an hot skirmish almost an houre: and though our seconds were slow in coming up, yet did the forlorn hope drive them from hedge to hedge, and after awhile our body comming on beat them in, and pursued them up to the very house, took some few prisoners, and came off with the losse only of two men.

Such multitudes of the king's forces lay upon us to oppresse the countrey and intercept our reliefe, that they were extremely straitned of quarter, and enforced to look forth for livelihood. Whereupon two thousand horse and foot marched from Tewkesbury to Painsewick to gather contribution, and rob the countrey about Stroudwater: the governour drew out two hundred muskietiers with an hundred horse, and marched to the top of Bruckthrop hill expecting the enemy, whom he found divided into three bodies and himselfe born down by their multitude, for whilst two parties faced him, the third stole down an hollow lane, and had almost surrounded him unawares by the negligence of the scouts, so that our whole body was brought into great danger, driven to a sudden and confused retreat, and the governour himselfe left deeply engaged; yet most of our men got off, being preserved only by the gallantry of a few resolved men that stood in the breach; and of them Captaine George Massie striving to retard the pursuit,

grappled with three together hand to hand, received a sore wound in the head, and was happily rescued by a serjeant of the company; of ours, two lieutenants and sixteen private souldiers were taken prisoners, the rest in disorder ran down the steep through a rough and narrow lane, and recovered an house at the foot of the hill, where a party was left to make good the retreat, and the enemy durst not pursue, by which meanes all the bottome was preserved from spoyle; next day they retreated to Tewkesbury laden with plunder.

Suddenly after this repulse, we lost two small garrisons at Westbury and Huntly, by the treachery of Captaine Thomas Davis, who sold them at a rate to Sir John Winter. This Davis commanded the guard at Huntly, where himsef by night some distance from the house attended the enemies' comming, went in before them as friends from Gloucester, gave them possession, and having accomplished that peece of treason, immediately marched to Wesbury where he was received for a friend, and led in his traine of cava-leers, that both places were surprized in two houres, and above eighty men and armes lost in that great exigence. This villaine was posted on the gallowes in Gloucester, and the lord generall was desired that his name might stand upon the gibbet in all the parliament garrisons.

During these things, a treason of higher nature was plotted by the enemy, to a self-delusion in the close, a greater birth requiring more time to bring forth. It was first conceived the nineteenth of November, and for near ten weeks had the prime influence on their whole course in these parts; and is now ripe for action. All the force they can make from Oxford, and the Irish are drawn together. The Lord Herbert, Colonell Vavasour, and Sir John Winter lie upon us, and Prince Rupert himsef lying at Newent, hoping to effect this great design. Fifteen colours of horse arrived at Ciren-cester, and five hundred horse and foot advanced to Saperton and

Musarden, within ten miles of this garrison. There were of the enemies' forces round about, near six or seven thousand.

The failing of their endeavours and hopes in the late siege, brought forth a despaire of reducing the city by storme, and put them upon the wayes of treachery, who therein illuded themselves, and were over-acted in their own counsels. One Edward Stanford an esquire, and a grand papist, assaulted the fidelity of Captain Backhouse once his friend and acquaintance. He presumed that former friendship might make way to admit the plot, and Backhouse's power and interest in the governour made it (in his conception) very feasible. Wherefore in a private letter he tendred the renewing of ancient love, not only to the procuring of the king's pardon, but a greater advancement and fortune than the condition of those whom he served, could rayse him to. This might be purchased by the delivering of Gloucester into their hands, which was not hard for him to perform considering the nature of his employment. And the honesty of the enterprize was grounded on the old proverb, *fallere fallentem non est fraus*. An hasty and abrupt temptation and the tempter's irrationall confidence did befool him in the first onset, who knew not either to propose or expect such grounds of assurance as the thing did require; but set upon a knowing man, without the knowledge of any imbred inclination to treason or present provocation. Except a strange levity, a minde set on mischief, the conscience of delinquency, or desire of revenge, vain glory, or riches, are the sole aimes of a traytor, and the hopes of either must appear large and certain; but here an attempt is made on such a one who neither by feare was compel'd to provide for himselfe, nor enraged against his own party, but acknowledged a present felicity in the work in hand: as though it were possible to perswade a man wittingly to contrive his own overthrow.

The letters were no sooner received, but communicated to the governour, who advised to embrace the businesse, and hold a cor-

respondence with that party, practizing that rule by themselves propounded, for these reasons: First, It was a delight and glory to take them in that snare which themselves had layd; and the advantage was great. 2. That this treason (already secured) might prevent other conspiracies against the city, so long as they had faire hopes of prevailing by this; 1st the contrivance of a second should confound the disposition of the first. 3. That the countrey under the command of this garrison, which upon the petition of the malignant gentry was devoted to destruction, might be preserved, and spared by the enemy, in hope to enjoy the benefit thereof themselves; for the embracing of this plot did not draw on the enemy, but held his hand, and suspended the execution of his fury. 4. To spin out the plot, and feed their expectation till the countrey had vented in the markets their spare provisions of corn and cattle. 5. That the enemy possest and taken up with the gayning of the city, might give the parliament's forces in other parts of the kingdome a greater freedome to execute their designes. 6. That a flattering promise might allay their fury till the winter were past, or our reliefe come, and we be able to feed them with harder meat; and that themselves might taste the cursed fruits of treason, to a selfe-shame and confusion. The design was communicated to Captain William Singleton alderman, and Captain Read.

For these and the like reasons, Backhouse undertook the businesse, and returned an answer in a liberall garb, protesting that he honoured his majesty with his soule, and was ready to perform all reall service. He seemed withall to promote the plot by requiring sworn secrecy, and agreeing upon a trusty messenger: and that he might seem more deeply to relish the matter, catcht hold on the promise of reward, and required some unquestionable assurance, that he might not play an after-game poorely. Thus the fraud is returned upon them by one that strives to maintayn the repete of integrity, conceiving it no transgression of military honour, to deceive them into a snare by verball equivocation, as well as by a

doubtfull action, the common way of the stratagems of warre. This confident reply and the palpable discovery of a sudden change, did not render him suspected, but beyond all reason gave the complotters great contentment, who did not enquire into the conviction and change of his thoughts by due degrees. Stanford desired him forthwith to expresse his conditions, propose the way, and descend unto the particulars of the service, assented to constant intercourse, and assured him that none but the Lord Digby should be privy to the design. Captain Backhouse drew the modell of the plot in this following letter to Mr. Stanford.

SIR,

You desire my conceit in proposall of particular propositions, and of my reward : to both which I shall thus propose unto you to present to more mature judgements : whether I may not by drawing out my troop in an evening (as I can doe at any time) meet with your forces, and bring them in at the gate on the sudden in a moon-shine night, and so master the first guard, which may easily be done and not discerned till too late ; my troop being above three score, who may be all in the reare, and at your mercy, though I my selfe shall lead in the force, which cannot give the alarme in the night so soon as to prevent the designe. Whether if I perswade the governour with a strong party of horse and foot upon some designe to lie out all night eight or ten miles distant from the garrison (as I know I can doe) and I my selfe stay at home, in whose absence you may safely advance in the evening to the town's side, when I can come out to you, and so bring you in under colour of our owne forces. Whether if I finde out a place slenderly guarded, and somewhat easie to come in at, I may draw off the sentinels upon some pretence, as I can do, being known unto them all, and there direct your entrance. Whether if I send for hay, and give you notice of the very time of its comming in, which must be in the night, I may not after the carts bring in some men as carters, who

may have snaphance muskets in the carts, and some dragoons to fall in in the reare of the carts, who may master the first guards, and possesse the ordnance there, and so let in both horse and dragoons who with such ordnance may march through all the streets in the town. These severall wayes I propose for the present, but I conceive that those who have been versed in the taking of towns may make more choice of propositions, any of which if I apprehend it feazible, I shall gladly undertake, or render a reason of my dislike. As for my reward I am right sensible of how great concernment the businesse is to your side, and although it be utterly against my spirit to indent before hand, especially with such gallant and noble personages; but the straits I have beene put into for lack of money, (having received no pay for my selfe from those whom I serve) and my estate and charge bids me look to that. I shall expect two thousand pound to bee secured, two or three hundred whereof I shall desire you as my friend to procure in hand, that I may bee enabled to beare up my port and credit, especially among the common souldiers and under-officers of the garrison, to whom I must be open handed, and engage affection, that they may be ready at my call. Secondly, to engage mine owne troop, and to binde such unto me with a silver cord, as I shall finde fittest for my purpose; and withall plentifully to reward the entercoursers between you and me, that they may execute our commands with all celerity and trust. This I leave to your consideration and mannage, and hope that ere long we shall meet to discourse it, when all the world shall not know.

R. B.

These propositions are sent to Oxford, entertained by the king's cabinet-councell, the Lord Digby becomes the great undertaker, and ratifies the proposall of Captaine Backhouse in the following letter:

Sir, You having so farre declared your desires to serve his majesty unto my very good friend Master Stanford, I thinke it fit you should now receive some more authentick assurance of his majestie's gracious acceptance thereof, than perhaps you will think his bare assurance to be. Therefore I doe here solemnely engage my word unto you both as a minister of state, and a gentleman, that if you shall performe faithfully what you promise there, you shall punctually receive immediately after, such a pardon as your selfe shall desire, and the summe of two thousand pounds. As for the three hundred you desire in present, such a confidence I will have in your word, that as soon as ever I shall have received your answer to this under your hand, it shall be forthwith paid into whatsoever place you shall appoint, or to what person. As for the particular waies of effecting our designe, those you propose are very rationall, but the choice, and disposition thereof must be between you, and those that are to execute it, with whom if it were possible you should procure a meeting at some unsuspected place. I doe propose unto you the choyce of severall men, and whom of them you shall like best, and thinke fittest by reason of the place where his command is, to him alone, and to no other the businesse shall be imparted, whether Sir William Vavasour commander in chiefe of the forces now in Gloucestershire, or Colonell Myn, commander of a brigade of the English that come out of Ireland, or Colonell Washington who is at Evesham; or lastly, whether the governour of Berkley-castle. As soon as you shall send me an answer you shall receive satisfaction, from him who hopes you will so behave your selfe as to make me,

Your assured friend,

G. D.

Here this degenerate lord sels his honour and betrayes the esteeme of gallantry, by promoting and engaging himselfe to re-

ward the vilest treason, and to insinuate himselfe into the close workings thereof, when many brave spirits out of their abundant justice have disdained the proffer of so base a service. And herein did hee derogate from the repute of an able statesman in relying upon the doubtfull expressions of an unknowne person, and whose condition could not invite any of the least ground of beliefe.

Hereupon a correspondency was held with the Lord Digby; unto whom Backhouse made his reply, that his lordship's directions suted with his owne former proposals made unto Master Stanford, to wit, that the commander of the forces to be imployed herein must be conscious of the designe; and as touching the choice of a chiefe actor on their part, he conceived Sir William Vavasour the fittest man, because he was neerest the businesse, his men lying at Ledbury, when the rest were more remote and of inconsiderable strength: as also because he had the best advantage to make his approach undiscovered, there being no suburbs nor house neere the city from his quarters, nor any out-guard to give the alarm. And for himselfe, upon a few daies' notice he would comply with their expectation, as the actors should agree upon all circumstances.

Upon this they returned large expressions of reward, and honour, but the present payment of the three hundred pounds was waved by Stanford, as much as possible, upon pretence of the danger of mis-fezance in the maine plot. Backhouse would not admit the excuse, importuned the payment, as well to have something in hand, as to let them know the great wheele that turned him about, that the palpable shew of corruption might make them more confident. Neither could they well keepe backe the earnest of this guerdon, lest they should render themselves capable of his dislike or jealousie, or seem to suspect his trust, whose adventure (if reall) in every line was sufficient to ruine him, and he left to bewaile his owne misfortune: wherefore it was resolved, that this Stanford and

Captaine Backhouse should debate upon the businesse by word of mouth ; they met accordingly in Coslawne at an houre appointed, without armes or attendants, where Backhouse received two hundred pounds in hand, with a promise from Stanford to discharge a bond of fifty pounds, and was not once urged in the whole conference to an asseveration of fidelity by protestation or oath. He received likewise the contrivance of the plot laid by Master Stanford, Sir William Vavasour, and others that were lately come to Tewkesbury, which ranne thus : that Colonell Massie should be drawne out of the garrison with a strong party towards Berkley-castle, having assurance that the castle should be rendered, which was really intended by them, that the gaining of Gloucester might be the more facile. In the absence of the governour Captaine Backhouse was to open the gate, and deliver the word. Thus was the plot proposed and approved by Backhouse, but with additionall advise, that their forces might with all speed relinquish Tewkesbury, because he should never perswade the governour to draw forth such a party, whilst they lay so strong upon us. This also was assented unto by the complotters, being secure of their agent, and blinded with extreame desire and confidence. And had not the proposall of the enemy been by themselves deserted, we had possest Berkley-castle, and placed a garrison in Tewkesbury. Yet so farre did they prosecute the businesse, that Sir William Vavasour sent to require the governour of Berkley to draw out his whole garrison (which was refused, without the king's, or Prince Rupert's speciall command) himselfe also commanded a great part of his foot to Parshow, professed his endeavours to march with the residue, and all the horse ; but that his majestie's commissioners were so averse as by no meanes to consent or permit, unlesse they might know and approve the designe, whom he professed to leave unsatisfied, lest he might doe Backhouse a disservice, and prevent or disturbe the motion. Notwithstanding Backhouse knew well enough that the councill of

warre at Tewkesbury, and the whole court at Oxford are full of this complement; and so close was the businesse carried that the London Mercury had blazoned him for a traytor. Wherefore upon this pretence they runne backe to one of the former propositions, to wit, that he would draw forth his owne troope, with one more, which should be put in the reare of their horse, and himselfe lead the forlorne hope into the towne. But he exquisitely declined this way, pretending himselfe not a little dashed at the disturbance of the first intention, which in his owne thoughts ranne so feazeble, and alledged the governour's watchfulnesse in observing the garrison of Tewkesbury, that he had given private commands to the officers both of horse and foot to be instantly ready upon the first advance of their forces, and kept abroad night and day good parties of horse to bring intelligence. So that he could not joyne with them, without suspition or discovery: and as he should be glad to confirme their opinion of his reall performance, for whom he did thus hazzard his life and fortune, so should he be infinitely unwilling to put them upon any enterprize which to themselves might prove prejudiciall: he minded them withall that the true frame of the plot was the life of the action. That one misfeizance in a businesse of this nature was never to be repaired, but crossed the perfection of such an enterprize, wherein he protested himselfe happy if he might sacrifice himselfe to accomplish the same according to his desires. In the close hee gave his opinion, that the governour's absence was the chiefe requisite to prepare the businesse, that his presence was not consistent with the safety of their side, especially if the alarm be taken at the first entrance. Wherefore he was once more confident to urge the relinquishing of Tewksbury, and upon the removall promised to possesse the governour with a private intelligence of the surrender of Berkley, and perswade him to imbrace the supposed opportunity, whilst himselfe should remaine

at home with the command of the horse left for scouts, and act the businesse with more ease and safety.

This motion effected its intended purpose to bring them on at the west port, to our best advantage against them, and Sir William Vavasour seemed to incline, but craved a little patience till the contributions were brought in to satisfie the souldiers. Master Stanford required a particular information of the state of the garrison, and received an account of the severall ports, forts, great guns, draw-bridges, provisions and ammunition. This was taken for a pregnant testimony of Backhouse his fidelity, and made them the more bold to come on, who were gulled with such a slender notice of triviall things, that the meanest boy which passed through the streets might give as great satisfaction; but whatsoever was of concernment he represented to the best advantage of the garrison.

After much variety of entercourse, Sir William Vavasour urged the execution, in regard the parliament's army grew so strong, that what they attempted was to be done out of hand. The plot was thus disposed by Captaine Backhouse, as well to secure his owne person within the gates, as to render the designe more probable. That whereas being commander of the horse he could require the keys of the city for the sending forth of scouts, he proposed this way to their liking; that the very night of their approach he might provide scouts out of his owne troope who should not be ready till the businesse were acted. Meane while himselfe would take the keyes, repaire to the west gate, and pretend to stay for their comming, and set the guard which is usually slender to drinke in an ale-house: in which time they might advance, finde no living soule but himselfe at the gate, or a few drunken men, and pretend withall to be our owne men from Churcham, where we had a guard of horse and foot, which if they did not disturbe would continue there awhile, and further the performance.

Thus the safety of the countrey, and our small garrisons was still interwoven in each part of the plot: and they deceived with so great a semblance of reason, that they could not suspect, though in every motion hee constantly waved selfe-ingagement, and personall danger. The maine care of the businesse is to draw them on to a selfe-destruction: and the last modell complies with their fancy in each particle, and to their second thoughts likewise appeares still more rationall. On the fifteenth of February the set time is come, nine of the clocke at night is the houre appointed, the guards are to be drawn off from the further bridge, and the sentinells to be taken in. Prince Rupert is to advance with fifteen hundred horse and foot, and it would be very satisfactory if Captaine Backhouse met them with his own troop pretending to beat up a horse quarters, but this they urge not if it be found inconvenient. In the evening a messenger is dispatched from Gloucester to the enemies' quarters, with the watch word for their assurance and some private directions for their march up the town; while himselfe waited at the gate, which he undertook to set open, if they came by nine of the clock, or within half an houre after.

After the messenger's dispatch, the ports were shut up round the city, carefull sentinells set, the governour called a councill of war, acquainted the officers with the plot, gave order that as well citizens as souldiers should continue that night in armes: drew to the west gate three peeces of ordnance, and a strong guard of musketiers well provided with granadoes, and commanded foure stout men in a boate under Ouer's bridge halfe a mile distant from the gate to lie under the maine arch, with direction that upon the firing of the first ordnance they should cut a cable rope, which being done the bridge would fall into the river. By which meanes they had all been killed, drowned or taken, being cooped up in an island open to our shot without possible meanes of escape. In this preparation and posture we continued all night, watching the time to have

delivered ourselves from the future mischief of such bloud thirsty enemies. They advanced with their whole body of horse and foot, but before they came within a mile and a halfe of the city it was open day, when having lost the time by the slownesse of their march, they durst not come on but instantly retreated to Newent, from thence Captaine Backhouse was informed by letters of the reason of their faylings, which induced us to believe that the enemy did not yet know that their designe was destroyed. Wherefore we indeavoured secrecy, and the next day suffered no man to passe the ports, desired to salve the matter and bring them on once more, but the whole frame quickly fell asunder, though the languishing enemy gave some cold entertainment to a few patching letters, because they were ashamed to acknowledge such a strong delusion.

As they had all justly perished in their own hellish mischief, so are they deservedly branded with notorious folly in the whole mannage: and the chiefe undertakers might have learned not to indulge their hopes of faire conclusions by their own subtil cogitation, and the shew of a neate contrivance, when nothing beneath a like mutual engagement, and strong necessity doth deserve assurance and confidence. Neverthelesse the pregnant hopes of this imaginary treason, as it brought forth a lie to the contrivers thereof, so it wrought much good for this garrison, and the common service of the state. The imbracing of the motion held up the desires of the enemy, and made them lesse active elsewhere. It preserved the country till our succours came which were every day expected. Neither was this plot the cause that the power of the enemy did beare hard on the countrey (for here was the confluence of their winter quarters) but since we must beare their burden, it made it the lesse grievous. It was impossible to keep out an enemy, but all the skill was to allay his fury and hinder the acting of mischief: which was carried on with violence by the malignant gentry, and that party that were not privy to or disliked the plot;

insomuch that Sir William Vavasour was complained of, reviled and cursed: and at once lost the opportunity of action and advancement in the king's service.

The enemy swarmed in every corner, except the county of the city and Whitstone hundred, that each day creates new troubles, and the governour constrained on one side or other, continually to draw out strong parties, to defend our selves, maintaine our markets and incourage that part of the country which is yet clear; all advantages were taken to ingage the people, and herein did the governor's industry put forth it selfe in setting the country in a posture of defence, when the command of the city did not reach above three miles some wayes, and not above seaven miles on the best side. At severall rendezvouzes published the nationall covenant and declaration of both kingdomes expressing their mutuall care of repaying our breaches and perseverance in their maine undertaking, which gave great satisfaction to such as were dam-nified in this cause, and confirmed unto them the vigor and strength of the parliament. By which meanes the nearer parts became wholly ours, not only yeilding a supply of maintenance, but engaging themselves on their own and our defence. And some of them that did not seem to confide in the state were drawne in being first enraged by the enemies' cruelty, which discontent and desire of revenge the governour cherished, and raised to an open declaration, and unawares of the multitude put them beyond the hopes of a faire retreat. So that these men observed the enemy upon every motion, sent alarms to the city, and in a great part took off the feare of a sudden surprizall.

Amidst these things the expectation of the London supply, and the dayly hopes of money strongly upheld the common souldiers by a meere delusion: its delay became a greater advantage, since its reall strength had before bin crumbled to dust. No part of the kingdome was capable of better service by a considerable number,

yet a meane and slender reliefe did not only not shake off the burthen, but disgrace the businesse, and contract and sinke the mindes of men when hope doth enlarge and beare up.

The governour therefore advised the stay of the convoy, and was willing to expect such a party as might inable him to beate off the enemy fifteen miles round about. Want of ammunition was the greatest exigence, and the preserving thereof; till a supply came was the maine hinderance of all designes? Neverthelesse we had perpetuall bickerings, that the enemy might not grow upon us and our dayly nimble performances were unto them as a continuall dropping. Amongst others a party of horse and dragooners issued forth as far as Marshfield, fell upon a troope of horse quartered there and brought thence a lieutenant, cornet, and quartermaster, with a few common prisoners, and such horse and armes as the troop did yeild. Whilst Colonell Veale's foot, and the Lord Incheequeene's horse lay in and about Berkely, and sorely oppressed the country, we fell into a horse quarter of Incheequeene's regiment, and took a major and two captaines there, three lieutenants, two cornets with two colours, and other inferior officers and souldiers, to the number of three and twenty, all this while the strength of the king's army is lodged between us and Warwick, to intercept our relief and in thought have already divided the spoyle.

Sir William Vavasour willing to act something in the latter end of the day, to repaire his credit in the king's army, desired a greater strength with a sufficient artillery to distresse and straiten Gloucester, and having obtained two culverins from Oxford, with a proportion of powder, he advanced with a strong brigade towards Painswick with unusuall preparations and expectation. Their march afflicted the country, and indangered our out-garrisons. The enemy were confident to the last that extremety would compell us to yeild up all to their mercy. Sir William Vavasour entred Painswicke with as gallant horse and foot as the king's army did yeild. Here

the governour had placed a guard in a house neer the church, into which the church also was taken in by a breast work of earth. The intention of the guard was to command contribution, and keepe off a plundering party; and order was given to the lieutenant which commanded to maintaine it against a lesser party, but if the maine body and artillery advanced upon them, to relinquish it and retreate down the hill to Bruckthrop, (where the governour had set a guard to prevent the enemies' falling downe into the bottome) for which purpose they were assisted with a troop of horse, to make good such a retreate if need were. But the lieutenant more confident of the place, and not understanding the strength of the army, and not willing to draw off before the last minute, was inforced by the enemy to engage himselfe, and many willing people of the neighbourhood in that weak hold, and upon the first onset deserted the house being the stronger part, and betook himselfe to the church, which wanting flankers the enemy had quickly gained by firing the doores and casting in hand-granadoes, some few were slaine in defending the place, and the rest taken prisoners. We lost three inferior officers, seaven and thirty common souldiers, and many country men; at that season the governour had commanded to Stroud, another guard of fifty musketiers to support and strengthen the place in its own defence. But ammunition was their only cry, which struck us dead, and constrained the governour to withdraw that party to the garrison at Essington; for our magazine did then yeild no more than six single barrells of powder, by which meanes he was wholly disabled to encounter the enemy; only to preserve the bottome, he drew forth the greatest part of both regiments with their colours display'd to flourish at a distance, and summoned the volunteers of the country whom himselfe had engaged in a posture of defence. These were to increase the appearance of strength by day, and at night to guard the severall passages. So that the enemy durst not adventure below the hills,

nor seek us in our advantages, nor was it safe for us, who wanted horse, to set upon them in those large and open places; either party kept their own ground. They wasted the hill countries, whilst we secured the vale: and the souldiers sustained hard duty in marching to and fro to give the country satisfaction, where the enemy prevailed they plundered to the bare walls, and this was the accomplishment of the great service, so long expected from Sir William Vavasour.

This brigade, upon the defeate of Sir Ralph Hopton's army, by Sir William Waller at Charrington Down, was commanded hence and instantly marched for Cirencester and so to Oxford, our horse made after them but could not recover the reare, only they lighted upon some straglers, and in the whole businesse we killed and took near fifty men. This diversion relieved Gloucester which else had bin blocked up to the gates, and cast into as great necessity as ever. In this pinch we received twelve horse loade of ammunition strangely conveyed between the enemies' garisons, only by the carriers and a foot post, when their designed convoy that set forth a little after and missed them, gave them for lost and returned to Warwicke; the residue of the relief was stolne by parcells through the enemies' quarters, for though their greater body was drawn off, yet were we still vexed with their garrisons. Not long after there arrived another portion and three troopes of horse to make up the governour's regiment. At length came Lieutenant Colonell Ferrar that had the command of these succours, with a little long expected pay for the garrison. As for the foote souldiers that came with him out of London, in regard they came severall wayes and at severall times in a lingering march with want of pay, and some taken prisoners, about fifty came to Gloucester, and of the rest, no good account could be given.

When Vavasour was called off, the enemy revived and grew bold under a more active leader Colonell Nicholas Min, who commanded

the Irish brigade. In the first entrance hee began to lash out, and made assayes of action, cut down the bridge at Masemore, allarmed the city from the Winniard hill, and took divers of our men that issued out upon a sally over the river in a boate.

At this present there came dayly cries for the reliefe of Brampton castle in the remote parts of Herefordshire, which held out a long time in the midst of the enemies' countrey to the expense of much time and bloud. And their succour was the more importuned by the rage of the enemy, which had lately acted their cruelties upon fourty prisoners of the same command taken by Colonell Woodhouse in Hopton castle, which were basely murdered after the surrender. Colonell Massie had no forces under his command to undertake a march through the midst of the enemy, when they pressed hard on our own borders, and the brigade of horse assigned for the convoy, and commanded by Commissary General Bher were unwilling to undertake the service. Yet while these horse remained here, the governour desired to set them a worke that they might not act only to the spoyle of the country. Wherefore they joyned with a party of our foot, and made an attempt upon Newent, Colonell Min's garrison, but were called off in the midst of the service by a speciall order from the lieutenant generall.

The enemy have lost the hopes of their winter action, and this garrison made the best of a bad game in continuall petty services and small parties, yet beyond the strength of the place, not to conquer, but live, nor to destroy the king's forces but to stave off or delude them. But to enable Colonell Massie to march with a better strength, Colonell Purefoy with his regiment of horse about the first of April 1644, was by the committee of both kingdomes, commanded into these parts, and the maine designe was to remove or take in the garrisons that lay round the city. These horse having brought but a slender part of the ammunition, and none of the armes that were sent from London were remanded to War-

wicke, for the convoy of match and powder: the governour resolving not to undertake a march or action of time without a proportion of powder, both for the field and garrison. Upon their second arrivall these horse with a party of foure hundred foot were drawne out with two small pieces of ordnance, and advanced into the enemies' quarters, first with a purpose to seeke out Colonell Min, who was lodged in the nearer parts. But upon the report of our march he fell back from Newent and hastned to Rosse, where he began to fortify the church with his own and Sir John Winter's regiments. The governour made forwards into Herefordshire, and kept his head quarters at Ledbury to appeare unto the enemy, and in their own country provoke them to action, and in the meane while to fetch in monies for the supply of the souldier, and to ease our neighbourhood, which till then did beare the whole burden. Our horse that lay neer upon their garrisons had some encounters, but with no considerable party. From Ledbury an hundred and fifty musketiers with the whole strength of horse were drawn towards Hereford to command the country, and face the garrison which feared our approach, and for that cause fired a lone house neer the city, but none did adventure to sally forth or fall on the reare in our retreat, so we marched through the greatest part of the county, but the grand malignants were fled with the best of their substance. The governour resolved to attempt the lesser garrisons, but the noyse of our march had reached Prince Rupert, who thereupon was come to Evesham with as great a strength of horse and dragoones as he could draw together with a purpose to fall over Upton-bridge, and get between Gloucester, and our forces, whilst Colonell Min and Sir John Winter held us in play in these parts. Wherefore being advertised of the prince's march, and suspecting his intention, he drew back the party as well to refresh and preserve his men as to make the enemy secure.

But within foure daies the like number were againe drawne out

towards the forrest side to attempt and act something upon Myn's forces, and first they came up upon Westbury, once our owne garrison, but betrayed into the hands of Sir John Winter. Here the enemy held the church, and a strong house adjoyning. The governour observing a place not flanked, fell up that way with the forlorne hope, and secured them from the danger of shot. The men got stooles and ladders to the windowes, where they stood safe, cast in granadoes and fired them out of the church. Having gained the church, he quickly beat them out of their workes and possest himselfe of the house, where he tooke about foure score prisoners, without the losse of a man. The enemy had an other guard at Little-Deane, whither the governour commanded a party of horse to give them alarms whilst he fell upon Westbury. These horse found the enemy stragling in the towne, and upon the discovery of their approach shuffling towards the garrison, which the troopers observing, alighted and ran together with them into the house, where they tooke about twenty men. Neere unto which guard Lieutenant Colonell Congrave governour of Newnham and one Captaine Wigmore with a few private souldiers were surrounded in some houses by the residue of our horse. These had accepted quarter, ready to render themselves when one of their company from the house kils a trooper, which so enraged the rest, that they broke in upon them and put them all to the sword: in which accident this passage was not to be forgotten that expressed in one place an extreame contrariety in the spirits of men under the stroke of death: Congrave died with these words, "Lord receive my soule;" and Wigmore cryed nothing but "Dam me more, dam me more;" desperately requiring the last stroke, as enraged at divine revenge.

Colonell Massie pursued the successe (whilst his owne men were full of life and hope, that the confidence of the enemy might be dashed by a quicke surprisall.) And the very next day came before Newnham, where a strong party of Sir John Winter's forces kept gar-

rison in the church, and the fort adjoyning, of considerable strength, who at that instant were much daunted and distracted by the losse of Congrave their governour. Our men were possest of the towne without opposition, and recovered the houses by which they got neere the workes. The governour commanded a blind of faggots to be made athwart the street, drew up two pieces of ordnance within pistoll shot: and observing a place not well flanker'd where he might lead up his men to the best advantage, himselfe marched before them, and found that part of the worke fortified with double pallisadoes: (the souldiers being provided with sawes to cut them down,) and having drawn these close within a dead angle, and secure from their shot, and drawing the rest of his force for a storme, the enemy forthwith desires parley, and to speake with the governour, which he refused, and commanded a sudden surrender. In this interim some of the enemy jumpt over the workes, and so our men broke in upon the rest, who ranne from the out-worke into the church, hoping to cleare the mount which we had gained. But our men were too nimble, who had no sooner entred the mount, but rushed upon them before they could reach home, and tumbled into the church all together. Then they cryed for quarter, when in the very point of victory a disaster was like to befall us, a barrell of gunpowder was fired in the church, undoubtedly of set purpose, and was conceived to be done by one Tipper a most virulent papist, and Sir John Winter's servant, despairing withall of his redemption being a prisoner before, and having falsified his engagements. This powder blast blew many out of the church, and sorely singed a greater number, but killed none. The souldiers enraged fell upon them, and in the heate of blood, slew neere twenty, and amongst others this Tipper. All the rest had quarter for their lives (save one Captaine Butler an Irish rebell, who was knocked down by a common souldier) and an hundred prisoners taken. The service was performed without the losse of a man on our side.

After this dispatch the governour marched to Lidney house, with purpose to attempt according to what he should finde meet, and in the first place summoned the same to a surrender, which being refused, and he finding the house exceedingly fortified, and no lesse provided with victuall and force, engaged not upon it: and understanding that Colonell Myn with a considerable strength of horse and foot, assisted by the Lord Herbert's forces, and Sir John Winter, was come as far as Coford; he was enforced with more expedition to draw off, for the gaining of the hill towards them, there expecting the enemies' advance till towards evening, when he marched off his wearied men to Gloucester, first having fired Sir John Winter's iron-mills and furnaces, the maine strength of his estate and garrison.

After these things many gentlemen of the county began to looke towards the parliament, and tender their obedience, desiring protections from this government, to secure themselves from spoyle, and the souldiers' violence. Neverthelesse as the personall estates of all knowne delinquents within the reach of this command were seized, and the profits of their lands sequestred, so these men were not to be ignorant or insensible of the value of their peace. Concerning some the governour desired the direction of the houses, yet granted protections with strict provisoes only to preserve their persons from the violence, and their estates from the plunder of the common souldier, for the advantage of the publique, till a full conviction, or the pleasure of the houses were by themselves or their committee made known. And this he did according to the parliament's undeniable justice, and the example of other generall officers. As for the moderate offenders, unlesse the state of things did require or permit their utter destruction, he had no other way but to endeavour to make them our friends and confidents, and since it was resolved they must live amongst us, hee desired by love and gentle dealing to hold the way secure and open, that they

might imbrace the condition without discontent or feare, and for these protections hee reserved nothing to himselfe but caused the moneys to be paid in to the publique treasurer for the use of the garrison.

Neither was he sluggish in the spring of action, but immediately fell upon another designe, the surprisall of Tewkesbury, by an unexpected onset. For the enemy by the number of their men, and the naturall strength of the place, with the workes well begun, were sufficiently provided to receive an expected and open storme, and the governour shun'd all desperate hazzards, because he did not march with supernumerary forces, but the maine strength of Gloucester. Wherefore to deceive the enemy the foot were drawne forth at the west-gate, bearing the shew of an advance into Herefordshire, and the horse kept their rendezvouz, and looked the same way. But in the evening the horse came backe and marched through Gloucester towards Tewkesbury, having first sent a guard to Upton-bridge: while the foot came on beyond Severne. The designe had taken effect, had not the foot by their slow march or mis-guidance passed the houre, which was breake of day, for they came not before the towne till an houre after sunne rising, when we were found not fit to assault a waking and prepared enemy. To withdraw neverthelesse, did seeme but a feeble businesse for such a faire body of horse and foot displayed before the towne, and carried before it the appearance of a baffle: yet the governour, though naturally jealous of honour, could digest such mis-fezance, when the safety of his owne men required, knowing that the opportunity of service would in good time cancell a mis-grounded ignominy, and in his whole course, whensoever the present exigence did not urge a greater hazzard, neglected the hopes of those victories that could not be gained without the weakning of that party on which the maine rest did lie.

This party was presently sent over the river, and marched towards

Rosse to prevent the joyning of Colonell Myn (now made commander in chiefe in the roome of Sir William Vavasour) with Sir John Winter, and the Welch forces, as also to raise moneys for the garrison out of the remoter parts, to enlarge our owne quarters, engage the countrey with us, or to lie ready for all occasions of service. There our horse and foot arrived, with two pieces of ordnance, and found Wilton-bridge guarded by Captaine Cassie, and thirty musketiers from Gudridge-castle; a party of our horse advanced upon them, forced the river, and got beyond them; after some dispute beat off the guard, wounded and tooke the captaine, slew many of his men, and tooke the rest in the chase almost up to the castle. Our forces rested here a few daies, and summoned the countrey to appeare, it being the governour's constant endeavour to adde daily friends unto the parliament, and to put the countrey into such a posture, that upon all alarms they might gather to an head for their owne defence, and hereupon many came in and declared themselves, by taking the nationall covenant. Whilst the engagement of the countrey was thus prosecuted, some emergent occasions drew the governour to Gloucester, where he found a prisoner Captaine Oglethorpe governour of Beverston-castle, a man rendred odious to the countrey by strange oppressions and tyranny, and who lost himselfe basely being taken by some of our scouts in a private house courting his mistresse, and when once taken, so high and sterne before, but now as vile and abject. By which meanes the governour was made sensible of the weakenesse of the castle, but much divided in his owne thoughts, whether to leave the countrey that came on so fairely to a selfe-engagement, and neglect the contribution already levied, but not payd in, or desert the hopes of a gallant service: till at last considering the great command of the castle, that the gaining of it would free the clothiers of Stroudwater from the bondage and terrour of that government, and might prove a great detriment and annoyance to the enemy, in stopping or dis-

turbing their passage from Oxford to Bristoll, he turned his thoughts to the businesse, put on and resolved to try for it. Wherefore he drew from Rosse without delay, and commanded his foot over Severne at Newnham passage, whilst the horse marched through Gloucester: the next day he came before Beverston, and demanded the castle in the name of the king and parliament.

The lieutenant that commanded, at the first returne sent an answer of compli-ance, farre from the language of a souldier, and without one confident expression. They quickly came to a parley, and rendered upon conditions that both officers and common souldiers leaving their armes, ammunition, bagge and baggage, should freely passe to whatsoever garrison of the king's themselves desired, only foure officers had the priviledge to take each man his horse. So that without losse or danger we were possest of Beverston-castle, to the great content and satisfaction of the countrey round about. It was lost unworthily on the enemies' part, who might have held it with ease. Of so great simplicity was he conscious that commanded the garrison, as to aske the place whither our forces intend the next march, expressing his doubts of Malmesbury, and feare of being taken the second time. Neverthelesse they required a conduct thitherward and were guarded along by two troops of horse, and that very day our forces fell before it.

Whilst the horse faced the towne Colonell Massie sent in the summons, but this enemy put on the appearance of bravery fired upon the horse, and Colonell Henry Howard governour of the garrison sent backe a resolute answer. Thereupon our foot and artillery were brought up from Tedbury, and within two houres drawne into the suburbs and lower part of the towne. The foot broke their way through the houses till they came almost up to the workes, and the only place of entrance into the towne, which is built upon the levell of a rocke. Colonell Massie caused a blinde to be made crosse the street to bring up the ordnance, within

carbine shot: when on the sudden the fancie of an alarm seized upon our men in the heate of the businesse, that the enemy were sallying out upon them, which was nothing so. This unexpected accident stricke those men that at other times would brave it in the face of an enemy, with such distraction and feare, that they all fled, and left their cannon in the open street. This meere conceit was like to overturne all: but they within observed not. After a while the souldiers recovered themselves, regained and kept their ground, and the governour resolved to storme the towne in three places at once. The severall parties were drawne out to the places of assault, but this designe miscarried through the mis-understanding of the signall. The parties returne unto the governour, who resolved to make the assault at breake of day in one place where himselfe kept the only passage into the town, having no draw-bridge at the entrance, but only a turn-pike, whereas the other parts were almost inaccessible, guarded by a steepe descent, and double channell round about. The houses within pistoll shot of the workes were our maine advantage, by which meanes our men were brought safe under the shelter of their workes. And the governour observing the late effects of a panick feare amongst his owne men, gave the charge that they should fall on all together with a sudden and confused noise, to amaze the enemy, and disturbe the command of the officers. The forlorne hope advanced, seconded with a good reserve; all put on together, came up to the turn-pike, and threw in granadoes, the enemy made many shot at randome, in the disadvantage of a rainy night, and their muskets lying wet on the workes. So that our men came all in a croude to the narrow passage, and thronged in, and not a man slaine or wounded in the storme. One only was killed the night before in helping to make the blinde. Colonell Howard was taken at the workes after three shots received in severall parts of his garment, each of which missed his body. An hundred musketiers were taken prisoners, many

having escaped, besides those of Beverston-castle, who came hither for refuge the day before. This service was performed gallantly by our men, after three daies' continuall march. Upon the first entrance Colonell Massie preserved the town from plunder, nor at any time did he suffer his souldiers to ransacke any place that he took by storme, giving this reason, that he could judge no part of England an enemies' countrey, nor an English town capable of devastation by English souldiers. After a little stay to settle the garrison, and countrey, and to command in some moneys for the satisfaction of the souldiers, and present supply of the brigade, he returned to Gloucester; and the Warwickeshire horse were called off into their owne countrey.

After few daies the governour having breathed himselfe and his men, resolved to attempt the taking of Tewkesbury, a bad neighbour to our head garrison, and where he had suffered the repulse twice before. He was able to draw forth an hundred and twenty horse, and about thirty dragoones, with three hundred foot. For his strength was no more than the standing forces of the city, a great part of which were now swallowed up by the garrisons lately taken in. The horse and dragoones commanded by Major Hammond advanced some few houres before the foot and artillery, and were to alarm the enemy till the foot came up. They made a halt a mile from the town, and drew out a pretty strong forlorne-hope, conceiving they might possibly surprize them, if they had not as yet tooke the alarm, and first three men were sent before to espy if the draw-bridge were down, and six more behind went undiscovered; next unto these marched the forlorne hope, and the maine body in the reare. In this posture they advanced up to the town, where they found the bridge down, the guards slender, the enemy without intelligence, and supinely negligent. On went the first party, killed the sentinels, a pikeman and a musketier without match, and made good the bridge: the forlorne-hope rushed in,

and after them a full body of horse and dragoones, fell upon the guards, came up to the maine-guard before the alarm was taken, overturned their ordnance, and charged through the streets as farre as the bridge Worcester way, where they tooke Major Myn the governour of the towne. The enemy threw down their armes, many escaped by flight, and many were taken prisoners. Colonell Godfrey was slain in the first charge, as also Colonel Vavasour's quartermaster-generall, and a lieutenant, all papists, besides a sergeant, with about six common souldiers. Our officers and souldiers supposing themselves wholly victorious, dismounted and went into the houses, some in the vanity of their humour, others for plunder, whilst all sleighted their owne guards, and the making good of the bridge at which they entered, and neglected the taking and disarming of the maine-guard, which lay in the heart of the towne, and cleared every street. Whereupon those at the main-guard observing the horse not seconded with foot, took courage to charge some of our horse now in confusion, and many of the enemy out of the houses ran to the guard, and so strengthened it, that they issued out upon our men, put them to a retreat, beat them out of the towne, and took some few prisoners. But before they were beaten out they had cut down two draw-bridges, and secured the governour Major Myn, who was passed over Severne with a small party that tooke him beyond the town. By this time Colonell Massie was come up with a few horse halfe a mile in the van of the foot, which hastened after to make an assault in this instant of time. But the bridge towards Gloucester was againe drawn up and the workes manned on that side; here the governour placed his company of dragoones, and gave order to fire upon them, whilst he drew his men round the towne, it being now darke night; but before he could reach the farther end, where he entered about midnight the enemy were fled towards Worcester, being daunted at the first assault made by the horse, observing withall our foot now brought

up, their owne governour lost, their officers slaine, and most of the common souldiers already runne away. The townesmen through feare durst not give the least intelligence of what had hapned. By which meanes they were past the recovery of our horse already tyred, besides the night and darke weather hindred the pursuit. Only we tooke some scattering foot, to the number of foure and twenty, with a lieutenant. Upon our entrance we found eighteen barrels of powder, left by their haste, an hundred and twenty skeyns of match, two hundred new pikes, foure and thirty large hand-granadoes, good store of musket-shot, and two brasse drakes. Most of their muskets were thrown about in the fields, ditches, and rivers, many of which were afterwards found, but the place itselfe was of greatest consequence, and worthy of the service, being now a strong frontier-town securing that side of the county, and commanding a good part of Worcestershire: and in this nicke of time extreamly crosse to the intentions of the king's army. The enemy confest themselves to be neer seven hundred strong, when our whole body could not reach that number. That very day Colonell Myn was to march from Hereford to ayd this town: but prevented by our possession.

These things were acted here while the Earle of Essex and Sir William Waller lay neere Oxford with both their armys, and compelled his majesty to withdraw himselfe from his strongest hold. The king having shifted between them both by a close and nimble conveyance, and being on a swift march over Cotswood hils had this towne of Tewkesbury in his thoughts for his owne passe, and a stop to the pursuing army, not understanding his losse till within a daie's march of the place. The intelligence of this surprisall, and that Upton-bridge was made unpassable, perplexed the king, and turned aside the course of his flight towards Evesham: where he quartered for a night, and rose thence in great distraction, and caused all the bridges in those parts to be broken down after him,

to hinder Sir William Waller in the pursuit, whom he expected in the reare every hower. In such a hurry, confusion and feare did the enemy run, that a smaller party of horse only with the report of the foot coming after, in a constant and close pursuit might have consumed and dissipated the whole army: which neverthelesse remained a body with life in itselfe, and quickly grew up to the perfection of parts.

The governour had reduced these parts into a reasonable condition of ease, and security, made a convenient passe for the parliament's forces through the heart of the king's country, and blocked up the course of the enemy almost on every side, unlesse the maine army did march. Malmesbury and Beverston-castle lie in the roade from Oxford to Bristoll, and inforce the lesser parties to fetch a compasse by Worcester and Hereford, thence round about into Wales, and at last to passe the river of Severne below Berkely castle.

When the king had winded himselfe out of the snare, Sir William Waller could not well follow the chase with his foot and a traine of artillery, though the horse might performe gallantly to the ruine of those who resolved rather to flie before them than fight upon any tearmes. Wherefore he made some pause by the way with a purpose to march his great ordnance to Gloucester, and appointed Colonell Massie to meet him before Sudeley, where he performed an acceptable service to this country. The governour forthwith faced the castle, beat in the enemy, and took twenty horses from under the castle walls, expecting the arrivall of Sir William Waller: who came up within few houres with a strong party of horse.

The enemy within discharged their ordnance, and fired their out-houses like men resolved upon extremities rather than to yield up or lose the garison. In the evening Sir William Waller summoned the governour of the castle: and it fell out that the very name of his army and presence strooke them to the surrender of that hold

that might have expended the lives of many, and much time then pretious in that great advantage on the king's distressed army: yet they refused to render at the first summons. The battery was planted within halfe musket shot. But the great pieces did little execution upon the soft and yielding stone, nor could the castle be taken by battery: but one shot by chance took off the head of their cannoneer, and exceedingly daunted the common souldier: and the governour Sir William Morton did in his owne thoughts incline to a surrender, whether out of a naturall feare or free choice. He was knowne to be active and violent in the king's service, of an high spirit and bold, bearing before him the semblance of valour and supposed by an high degree of enmity most obnoxious to the justice of the parliament, one that had the repute of a knowing man, able in the profession of the law, and versed in the wayes and actions of men. He was likewise more strongly linked unto that cause by the late honour of knighthood, which by the state is held no better than a note of infamy, to stigmatize those persons that have been eminent in the disservice of the common-wealth. Notwithstanding this, being lost and desperate in the opinion of the parliament, he gave up that strong hold and himselfe into their hands, having not provided for the indempnity of his own person; when by his own party, likewise he must needs be branded with treachery or cowardize, and so lost on all hands. So that no faction seemes to be assured of its principall confidents, and that no resolved nature or judgment can secure the strongest enterprize to a wise and honourable conclusion. After the surrender Sir William advanced thence to seek out the king's army, and left the castle to be kept by the Gloucester forces.

By this time the enemy had no footing in the county save Berkely-castle and Lidney house; and as this government had by maine force gained every step of its command, so no lesse skill and vertue is required to maintaine the victories; we have the possession of

Gloucester, Tewkesbury, Sudley, Newneham, Beverston, and Slimbridge, all to be defended and maintained at so great distances only by two regiments of foot. For Malmesbury was kept by Colonell Deveraux his regiment, who was appointed governour under the command of Colonell Massie, unto whom the disposition and settlement of that garrison was intrusted by the parliament. For want of money the city regiments were weake and uncertaine in duty and service, and the souldiers ranne dayly to other garrisons, where they found always constant pay and lesse hardship: but the governour could find none so rationall as to clap them in irons, or give them back to his justice. For this cause he was perplexed in each designe, uncertaine of the atchievement, and could not waite for a regular disposition, and traine of circumstances: but nimble in the secret and sudden motions of the time and season: and sometime resolving upon the sole guide of Providence, but in this never running a greater hazard than the shame of a non-performance. These many garrisons having taken up the whole strength; for want of a marching brigade, we were deprived of the fruit of our labours in the supplies of monies to be commanded out of the enemies' quarters, and disabled to relieve the remote parts that were by this time united under the power of this government. So that the first fruits were nipt in the bud, and we remaine miserable after so great enlargements, being inforced to cry to the parliament for help, which we should have held a disparagement, had we received a stock to improve to a larger support, and livelyhood. Wherefore the house of commons taking notice of the many good services of Colonell Massie, made an order for the recrute of his regiment of horse and foot in the first place, and to make up a competent brigade, Colonell Thomas Stephens had commission for a regiment of horse, and Colonell Edward Harley for a regiment of foot. In which businesse the governour advised, not to raise men and horse at London, whither the refuse of the army, runnegadoes, and such

as disliked the conditions of their former entertainment were wont to repaire, but only to procure monies to be sent into the country, where horses might be rayed at a cheaper rate, and able men were easy to be found, and chiefly where we might robbe the enemy of their maine strength, from whom great multitudes were ready to flow in upon the hopes of entertainment. And before this time since the late siege at least a thousand of the enemy, that here tendred themselves to the service, went from us for lack of pay. This was a speedy course and effectuall, which might carry on the worke whilst we were in a thriving way.

At that time the affaires of the garrison were a little enterwoven with some passages of the greater army, Sir William Waller was led into the northern parts, in the pursuit of his majesty, straining to reach or get beyond him. But the king doubled in the chace, hasted back by Worcester towards Oxford, and left Sir William a few dayes' march in the rear, who neverthelesse made after with all speed, but was constrained to rest at Gloucester to refresh his weary souldiers. And purposing to fall upon the king's army, importuned the governor to lend his assistance, which was extracted out of the extreme penury of these parts, only for a quick dispatch. Two hundred and seventy muskettiers with a company of dragoons were sent from Gloucester, and a hundred muskettiers from Malmsbury which did not a little necessitate the place, and stop the actions of this command which had so many garrisons to make good, and defend the countrey from the neighbouring enemy that began to threaten from every quarter.

At this time there happened a dispute between the king's army and Sir William Waller at a bridge neer Banbury: where some few were slain, and taken on both sides, but on ours the chief miscarriage was the losse of some ordnance. After this brush the king marched off into the borders of Worcestershire, and Sir William Waller towards Buckingham, to joyn with Collonel Browne. Our countrey

is in danger of ruine by the falling down of the king's army, whose main body lay for awhile about Breedon three miles from Tewkesbury: where his majestie being informed of the weaknesse of the place, drew neer with a purpose to storme it, advanced the ordnance within a mile, and sent out parties to skirmish. Collonel Massie upon the first intelligence clapt into the town two hundred muskettiers, for an additionall strength, and to incourage those within: himself in the mean while with a hundred and fifty muskettiers in Coslawne waited to encounter with an other party of the Worcester forces, whom he staved off with the losse of five or six men neer Upton bridge, and passed over Seavern to Tewksbury. Upon notice hereof, the enemy drew thence, and retreated towards Parshowe, and Evesham. There the king pretended to passe over the river into Herefordshire and Wales, and gave command that all the bridges should be made up, but his designe lay westward. Wherefore he made up the hils, marched the first day in the view of Shudely castle over the downes, and came that night to Cubberly seven miles from Gloucester, and from thence marched the next day by Beverstone castle to Sodbury. They went on like a flying army, surprised the country, but they only touched and away; and our weak troops drove in the stragling plunderers. For the governor commanded a party of horse to follow the reare of the enemy, whilst the rest were employed in a necessary defence in sundry places. These did seem to give them a gentle convoy over the hill countrey towards Bristoll; and though the van of their horse were too nimble for us, and drove great store of the garrison cattell, that lay in their way, yet the countrey-men were saved from any great matter of losse, and the parties of horse brought into our garrison between fifty and sixty prisoners, officers and souldiers; and though they could not retard the march, yet made them passe forward with much wariness and feare.

In the mean while Collonel Min, together with Sir John Win-

ter's forces take the advantage of our weaknes to spoil and destroy our friends on the forrest side, Sir William Russell and the governor of Worcester make incursions on that side. And the garison oppressed with many out-guards, and multitudes of prisoners within, had much ado to preserve the neighbours from ruine. Collonel Min advanced from Rosse, where he quartered his regiment, within half a mile of the city, drove away the countrey cattell, and took the persons of many. And the forces of Berkely castle act a sufficient part in the generall mischief. The governor looks round about him, and though he cannot hope to lay them flat, and subdue their spirits, yet he can check their insolence, and make them stand on their guard. He commanded a party of horse and dragoons towards Berkley, who fell upon the guard of the town, beat them into the castle, slew eight or ten, took prisoners Captain Sandys, with a lieutenant, ensigne, sargeant, and seven common souldiers, whence likewise they brought away fourty or fifty arms, and took from out of the park under the castle wall about fiftie horses with other cattell. An other party was commanded within foure miles of Worcester, and surprised in their quarters Sir Humphrey Tracy, Lieutenant Collonel Hely, and Captain Savage, and brought them prisoners to Gloucester.

By this time an increase is added to the garrison forces by the arrival of Collonel Stephens with three troops of horse, and two troops of Collonel Harlye's regiment, which did inable the governor once more to appear in the field: and draw out against Collonel Min, a serious and active enemy, and a perpetuall terror to the countrey, whose ruine was again contrived, and resolved upon. And for this designe strong preparations were made by the enemy round about. The governor had some discovery out of their own quarters, and upon advertisement that some forces out of Hereford and Wales went over the river at Aust passage, advanced with his horse towards Berkley castle, and thence to the passage,

where they missed not half an houre of the surprisall of the Lord Herbert. The notice of the march of our horse into the remote parts of the county hastned Min's expedition for Gloucestershire. And our intelligence abroad gave a timely advertisement of the work in hand, which a little after was fully confirmed by letters taken out of Collonel Min's pocket, to wit, that Hereford and Worcestershire were to joyn their forces about Cosselawne, and with an over-powering army to march up to the gates of Gloucester, to the utter devastation of the parts adjacent with fire and plunder, and to burn up the corn on the ground, it being then neer harvest. Hereupon the governor marched back with his troops to Gloucester, from whence he commanded two hundred and twenty musketiers, and ordered an hundred muskettiers from Tewksbury to meet him on the march, to prevent this great noised army.

Whilest the orders for the march were giving forth to the officers of horse and foot, there fell out a sad accident between Major Gray, and Major Hammond, which was like to slash the whole action. The heat of a quarrell then brake forth by occasion of a verball contestation at a councell of warre the same day, when both had orders to march, and were commanded to their particular charges. Major Gray began to question Hammond for his hasty language, and to require satisfaction. This challenge at the present was refused or sleighted, wherefore impatient of the supposed injury, and full of revenge, he smote him on the face with his fist: upon this to swords they went in the street, and after a little clashing, Gray received his death's wound by a thrust in the neck, and expired in the place. This miserable accident was like to beget a greater mischief among the souldiers, who being in arms, and ready to advance, came back with full streame of violent resolution for the present revenge of Gray's blood: that the whole city and garrison was not farre from an uproar. It rested on the governor's sole care to allay that violence of the souldier, who used his best

art, and industry to appease them, whilst the officers indulging their own discontent at the losse of their major, fell quite off the hinges: after an houre's dispute and intreaty, the tumult was in some measure qualified, that the most were perswaded to march, as it was high time, when the enemy came on within three miles of the city with a resolution if not to lay waste by fire (as they threatned) yet to plunder and take away the persons of men, their goods and cattell. The businesse was put forwards, but with little help from the discontented officers. Late in the afternoon our party began to advance, and at High Leaden passage got over the brook. The enemy were quartered in Hartpury field, and commanded to lie close. Our men came up to a bridge within a quarter of a mile of them in the dark night, gave them an alarme, and took ten prisoners, and an other party of our horse that quartered neer the Lawne took divers that were sent that way to plunder. But their main body evaded us, and with great speed marched that night to Redmarley, and we after a tedious wandring to find them out came to Eldersfield two miles from their quarters, where we rested two or three houres to refresh ourselves and horses.

At break of day we prepared to advance upon the enemy, when the beating of their drums minded us of an early march; and by six of the clock we came up to their rendezvous; their horse consisted of an hundred and sixty, and their foot of eight hundred and fifty; and of them six hundred and fourty muskettiers by their own confession: all drawn up into battallions, and the hedges lined with muskettiers. To beat them out of their advantages the governor divided the foot into two bodies, and drew out the horse into single troops, because the frequent inclosures would not make roome for a larger forme (the enemy in the mean while plying us with small shot) and having disposed of his own troop, with the hundred muskettiers from Tewkesbury newly come in, and many of the countrey inhabitants armed with muskets, and good resolutions to

one part of the town, he drew the Gloucester muskettiers about an hundred and sixty (for the rest remained at home ready to raise a mutiny for the misfortune of Graye's death) and the greatest part of the horse to an other place of best advantage. Himself advanced with this party, and led the van, which consisted of three troops: these were seconded with three other troops left to the command of Captain Backhowse. Some of the foot were placed in each flank of the horse, and one single troop with the rest of the foot brought up the reare. They were drawn out into this posture, marched up to the face of the enemy, the governour in the van, next unto him Collonel Harley in the head of his troop, gallantly, and in good order, gave the charge, beat them from their ambuscadoes, put their horse to flight, and in the instant of time got into the van of their foot, cut down, and took them prisoners, that few escaped our hands. The horse and foot, both officers and souldiers, plaid their parts with resolution and gallantry. The enemy was left to our execution, and their whole body broken and shattered, many wounded and slain, but more taken. Major Generall Min was slain on the place with an hundred and seventy. Among the officers, Leiftenant Collonel Passy then mortally wounded, Major Buller, seven captains, four leiftenants, five ensignes, twelve sergeants, and neer three hundred common souldiers were taken prisoners. Some troops advanced in the pursuit five miles from the place of the fight; but upon the view of a strong party from Worcester that came to joyn with Collonel Min, they were enforced to leave the pursuit, and prepare for a second encounter. And a strange hand of Providence kept asunder the Hereford and Worcester forces, whose joyning would have proved unto us an inevitable destruction. For Leiftenant Collonel Passie, who commanded this fresh partie of an hundred and fiftie horse, and five hundred foot, just upon the beginning of the fight was riding up to Min's brigade to bring news of their arrivall, but happily intercepted, and wounded

by our scouts, and left for dead. So that neither enemy had the knowledge of each other's condition; but the Worcester forces advanced within two flight shot of the place, whilst our men were scattered here and there in the chase of a vanquished enemy, nor did the governor when the first brunt was over, expect an after-birth.

The first discovery was made by Collonel Broughton, and Captain Backhowse, upon whom a blunt fellow charged up from the head of the main body in the entrance of a crosse-lane. Him they surprised in the name of friends, drew him aside from the view of the company, and informed themselves of the strength at hand. Forthwith they make a noise in the enemy's hearing pretending to fall on with a body of ours ready for a charge, by the sudden outcry daunted and drove back that strong party, and made way for the governor's retreat, and those with him, which were now dispersed, secure of the victory, and following the chase. Our stragling persuers were gathered together, drew back to the place of the fight, and there expected the charge, choosing rather to make good the victory atchieved upon so great hazard and disadvantage, than venture all by seeking out a fresh and doubtfull enemy with our few and weary souldiers. Only three or foure slain, five or six wounded, amongst whom Collonel Harley received a shot in the arme. The successe of this designe cut off the maine strength of the king's forces in South-Wales: and secured the countrey from our plundering neighbours on the Welch side. The body of Collonel Min was brought to Gloucester, and vouchsafed an honorable buriall. His death was by his own party much lamented, together with the losse of a brave regiment that were commanded from Ireland to fight here against the justice of that cause, upon which the Irish war was held up, and owned by the whole kingdom. And it hath been observed, that as the Irish pacification was unlucky and reproachfull to the outside of the king's actions amongst his protestant

party ; so the commandors that came thence were unfortunate in all their designes, and in the end miserable.

When the governour had settled his affaires at home in reasonable security, his desires and aime was to put in for the advantage of a more generall service: and pitched upon these two proposals, the one to make a diversion from the lord general's army then blocked up in the west, the other to keep back Prince Rupert's stragling forces which then lay between Shrewsbury and Worcester, a little after the great northern defeat. And these the prince earnestly desired, that upon this rubbish he might frame an army for the close of the summer action.

Wherefore if possible to endeavour a diversion from the west-parts, the governor drew towards Bath with nine hundred horse and foot (the forces lent to Sir William Waller being in part returned) with a purpose to disturbe the king's quarters, and withdraw a part of the maine army to inable Bristoll and Bath. On the hils likewise he might expect to encounter Prince Rupert from Bristoll, who fled thither with about three hundred horse presently after the discomfit in the north. But within a few dayes upon advertisement of the miscarriage and disaster of the lord general's army, he drew back, and the rather having intelligence that the prince had commanded Collonel Charles Gerrard out of Wales, and the reliques of his own army to break their way through our countrey into the western parts. These were reported to lie neer Worcester, waiting there for a clear passe, and by all means to escape Collonel Massie. They were to take their course over Coltswold hils, or by the borders of Herefordshire to make into the forrest of Deane, and thence over the river at Aust. Wherefore the governor's maine businesse was to prevent this conjunction, and block up either passage. In his retreat towards Gloucester, he fell down before Berkely and lodged his men two dayes in the town, summoned the castle, and made shew of an assault; but this

was taken up in the way besides the intention of the designe, and though the losse of six or eight men by their own folly gave Collonel Veale occasion of boasting, yet for all the pretended great service in maintaining the place that was never attempted, he was immediately after cashered that government by the prince's order. But before Collonel Massie drew thence, he caused the boats to be fired at Aust passage: and intending to passe over Seaverne at Frampton to meet Prince Rupert's forces, received an alarme that they were already in Cosse Lawne, whereupon our marching brigade hasted to Gloucester, where they found that many of those troops under the command of Sir Marmaduke Langdale were newly come into Herefordshire, and that a party of them joyning with Collonel Lingen's horse had advanced within six miles of the city to spoil and plunder those parishes that were joyned in one association to a mutuall defence, and the aid of this government.

The governor persued his designe, drew forth towards the Lawne, and stopped their course on that side Seaverne. Whereupon they took their course through Worcester, where they obtained an additionall strength from Collonel Sandys his horse, and Sir William Russel's horse and foot, with all the foot that Dudly castle and those parts could afford them. And now conceiving themselves able both in power and advantage of the march, having (as they supposed) left Collonel Massie beyond Seaverne, and too farre in the reare to reach them, resolved to break forth, hoping both to passe clear, and relieve Banbury in the way. But the governor being certified of their march, forthwith conveyed his men over Seaverne at Tewkesbury, and recovered the hils as farre as Stanway, and got before them, in the meane while gave notice to the major of the Earle of Denbigh's horse, that lay neer Tewkesbury in Worcestershire, who the same day brought up two hundred horse to joyn with our party on the hils. Neverthelesse the governor understanding nothing, but that the enemy was marched to Strat-

ford upon Avon, and so beyond his reach, sent back the foot almost tyred with tedious and continuall marches, and with his horse resolved to joyn with Collonel Fines at Banbury. But he found at the return of the scouts, that about five hundred horse neer at that instant got over the river on this side Evesham, and made their approach neer his quarters, and that a party of foot were left at the bridge to make good the repasse; one half of the forces in the mean while lying at Evesham, and the other neer Parshowe. Our men appearing on the hils, the enemy took the alarme, retreated suddenly, and for a while lodged themselves beyond Worcester. Their number was computed by such as beheld them to be about five and twenty hundred horse, ill armed, and the surviving part of the ruines of the northern army. Again to prevent their incursions into the remote parts of the county beyond Seaverne, a competent strength of horse and foot were commanded over, and withall to attend the enemies motion.

In the midst of this and other designs of consequence at that time depending, the governor with all the officers of horse and foot were much distressed for lack of that support, which the necessity of the service did require, and the extreme want of the common troopers drove them daily away. Every performance in the whole course of this government was filled with much distempers: and though the exigence of the souldier hath been great in many places, yet the gleanings of other brigades have been better than our vintage. No officer had any portion in the contribution money: no pay for the troops for many months together, no allowance for scout, spie, or intelligencer, who observe only the liberall and open handed, nor the hopes of reward to incourage the souldier's gallantry: that the indeavours of the governor in keeping together, and increasing the forces were nigh lost. Neither was any means allotted to the supply of the necessary attendants and officers of a marching brigade. And in the heat of service the nature and terms of the

governor's command were disputed, and it was very questionable whether to provide for the attendants of a march: that only a proportion seemed to be cared for, that might live within the walls of Gloucester, and nothing to further such action that might restrain, and lessen the strength of the enemy, preserve the countrey, and passe withall to the relief of remote garrisons. Neverthelessse the establishment of such a power was required in these parts as might check the enemy in all his marches and recruits: and this strength far greater than the stint of that constant number which the garrisons took up.

In this extremity the governor was constrained to act, and marched on in the pursuit of the enemy, who kept randevous neer Hereford with fourty two troops of horse, resolving to passe the Severne at Aust, not daring to adventure over the hill countrey. And to guard the passage, Prince Rupert sent into the forrest a commanded party of five hundred horse and foot. These began to fortifie Beachly for a lasting guard, a place of extreme difficult approach, being a gut of land running out between Seaverne and Wye, and the only commodious passage, from Wales to Bristoll, and the western parts, being the maine entercourse of the king's army, and a strong reserve for the last exigence. It was high time therefore to crush this designe, and nip the bud of so great hopes. The governor advanced upon them some foure dayes after they began their fortifications, and had drawn the trench half way from the banks of one river to the other, when the other part was well guarded with an high quick-set hedge (which they lined with muskettiers) and a ditch within with a faire meadow beyond, wherein they had made a re-intrenchment. The strength consisted neer of six hundred horse and foot, which at the first coming on lighted upon a partie of horse from Chepstow, took some, and drove the rest into the river: then faced the enemy within musket shot that evening, and so continued the next morning, waiting the opportunitie

of an assault, for at high water the place was inaccessible, by reason of their ships which guarded each river with ordnance, lying leuell with the banks, and clearing the face of the approach from Wye to Seaverne. Wherefore the governor taking the advantage of lowe water drew forth a party for the on-set. These were brought neer the place of entrance, where the enemy intended a draw-bridge, with order to storme the works which as yet were not finished. Out of the forlorn hope the governor had selected ten musketiers to creep along the hedges, and thence to fall into the very breach. These gave the first alarme, and caused the enemy (according to the meaning of the plot) to spend their first shot in vain. And when the first volly was given, ere they could recharge their muskets, the governor gave the signall by the discharge of a pistoll: on went the forlorn-hope, and the reserve following, the trumpets sounding, and the drums beating, run up the works, rushed in among them, and fell upon the hack, when the whole and each part of the action was carried on without interruption, and the souldiers went up in such a regular march, and so great solemnity, that it seemed more like the pomp of a triumph then the confused face of a fight. Of the enemy some were killed, and the rest taken prisoners, besides some few that recovered the boats, and many of them that took the water were drowned. And to grace the service, it was performed in the full view of a multitude on Chepstow side, whilst the great guns plaid from each river which cast beneath the banks by the lowe ebbe did no execution, but by their noise, and semblance of terror, both raised the souldier, and conduced to the majesty of the victory.

This good successe, and the season held forth a fair opportunitie to compasse an other designe at that time in agitation. Some overtures were made by Lieutenant Collonel Kyrle of the delivering of Monmouth into our hands. Many did urge the present acceptance of the plot, and an hasty performance, and were discontented in that which they called slacknesse in the governour: when as

neither the method of the plot was propounded in the generall (the circumstances being left free) nor the present state of things gave leave to manage the businesse, when the following army of Prince Rupert was to be intercepted, a work of greater concernment, and more beseeming a publick spirit than this latter: but at that time it was the usuall mistake of particular associations to confine every enterprise to their own counties, and divide the common-wealth into so many petty kingdoms. And in this did Collonel Massie deny himself, in spending the latter part of the summer in prosecuting a lesse plausible and appearing service, though of larger concernment. But having now pursued the prince's horse into Wales, and destroyed the enemies' project in fortifying Beachly, he quartered with his horse and foot neer Monmouth on the forrest side; and receiving an answer to a message lately sent to Lieutenant Collonel Kyrle, propounded unto him, and followed this way: That he would feigne a post from Gloucester side to desire a sudden return with his forces thitherward, to secure that part of the countrey from the enemy, which was already fallen out from Bristol, and Berkley: and this message was to come to his hands at Mr. Hall's house of High Meadow, a grand papist, where it would take wings for its dispatch to Monmouth, by which means Kyrle commanding the horse might easily draw forth some troop to follow the rear of our party. Hereupon the governor feigned a sudden retreat to Gloucester, and having marched back three miles, lodged his forces in a thicket of the forrest: and sending his scouts abroad, prevented the enemies' discovery. In the mean while the intelligence reaches Monmouth, and Lieutenant Collonel Kyrle draws out, whom the governour surprised at midnight in High Meadow house, with his troop of thirty horse: and with as little noise as possible advanced thence to Monmouth. Neverthelesse it was not so deep a silence but the alarme was given by the cornet of the troop, who escaped the surprisall, and the attempt made the

more difficile, if not desperate. The town took the alarme, stood upon their guard, expecting an enemy. Notwithstanding this, Kyrle with an hundred select horse arrived at the town's end, confidently came up to the draw-bridge, pretended a return with many prisoners taken, perswaded the guards, and prevailed with Collonel Holtby the governor of the town by the officers of the guard, to let down the draw-bridge, which was done but with much jealousie, and a strong guard, and the bridge presently drawn up again: insomuch that the first party were like to be held prisoners in the town. Our forlorn hope saw that it was time to lay about them, they declare themselves, over-power the guard, and make good the bridge: and in this there wanted not those that kept a strict watch over Kyrle's deportment, who acted his part with dexterity and valour. Our body of horse and foot were at hand, had a large entrance, subdued the town in a moment, and spared the blood of the surprised souldiers. But the dark and rainy night fitted the governour of Monmouth with the major part of the garrison for an escape over the dry graft. We took one major, three captains, and divers inferior officers, threescore common souldiers, five barrels of powder, and some arms: but the town itself was the best prize, being the key of South Wales, and the only safe entercourse for the king's army between the West Wales, and the northern parts.

The taking of Monmouth gave a fearful alarme to the whole countrey, especially to the Earl of Worcester at Ragland castle, who raised the countrey, and called in Prince Rupert's horse to their assistance. The Ragland papists made the poore Welch believe that we came to put man, woman, and child to the sword, and filled their fancies with as many strange conceits of the round-heads, as the poore Spaniards had of the English after their revolt from Rome, it being easie to perswade an irrational and stupid people. Forthwith they appear in arms against us. Wherefore

two dayes after our entrance, the governor sent out a small party of muskettiers, commanded by Captain Rochford, to quash the rising of the countrey. Our men find out the randevous, with a kind of guard defended by Captain Gainsford, with his ragged regiment. These upon the first onset were all put to flight, ran an hundred wayes like a barbarous people, were pursued by our horse, about twenty knocked on the head and sixteen taken prisoners. To revenge this losse, Sir William Blaxton with his brigade of horse, joyns with the countrey train-bands, and the forces from Ragland, and Chepstow, making (according to the best relations), five hundred horse, and twelve hundred foot. Of this preparation we were not advertised, till they fell upon one of our horse quarters in a strong house neer Monmouth, where we lodged two troops, and by good hap ten muskettiers to secure the quarters. The house was made good by the resolution of Captain Bayly, and Leiftenant Page, till the major of the horse had drawn up the troops, and faced the enemy, whilst the governor commanded out of Monmouth a hundred and fifty muskettiers. But before our foot could reach the house, their horse drew thence, encountred with a party of ours, and being recharged by Major Backhowse, were beaten back to the foot. By this time our musketiers were brought up, and in the first charge put the enemy to a confused running retreat, slew seventy, and wounded many, took threescore prisoners. Of the officers, a major of horse, and two captains were slain, one taken, and Sir William Blaxton shot in the thigh. But the pursuit had an early stop by a small river which the enemy passed, and plucked up the bridge: or their foot had been wholly routed and taken. The prisoners that were of the countrey people the governor entreated kindly, and after a few dayes sent them home by parcels, and each man with a little note or letter directed to his master, or the severall parishes, to signifie that the intention of the parliament, and the present government, was not to destroy, or enslave their persons,

or take away their livelihoods ; but to preserve their lives and fortunes, to open the course of justice, and free them of their heavy burthens under the forces of Rupert, a Germane prince. At the free discharge of the captives, they began to resent the governor's humanity, as before, by the slaughter of their men they had felt the force of arms. And the dispersed papers did in part undeceive the people, and dislodge their fears ; our horse marching peaceably, and doing no spoil or violence.

After the appeasing of the countrey tumults, the indeavours of the governor were to reduce that people to a willing, and cordiall obedience. He dispatched many letters of invitation to the gentlemen of the countrey, and gave assurance to the best affected of his purpose to defend and make good the town. But all were silent, and not two valuable persons did own the businesse. On the other side, they did not stir a foot at the summons of the Earl of Worcester : and in confidence of the justice of this party they frequented our markets ; wheras at our first approach they drove away all their cattell, into the remote parts of the county : yet most of the gentlemen fled from their houses. The greatest part of Prince Rupert's forces lie stil under our arrest in Wales, where they decrease and drop away, discontent and burden the countrey, between whom there arise perpetuall quarrels. And the truth is, even those people whose affections comply with the king's designe, could never correspond with the souldier of that faction, with whom there is no dealing for very friends. Insomuch that the generall hatred of the souldier might drive in to the parliament, a moderate enemy, and such as breathe a more cool spirit of malignity, when the state shall reach out the hand to clear the way, and make good the engagement.

Collonel Massie seems now to have spread the branches of his government beyond the sap and strength of the root, and the extreme parts grow burdensome to the main body. He had neither

horse nor foot to maintain what was gotten, considering the strivings of the enemy to repossesse themselves of Monmouth. For which end the whole power of South Wales that is fit for the march under the command of Collonel Gerrard are come as far as Abergenny, Uske, and Ragland. Sir John Winter must bring forth his master-peece to the world, and once more assisted with four hundred from Bristoll, purchased at a high rate, and added to a hundred of his own men, with all the aid Prince Rupert can send, undertakes to fortifie Beachly. The noised strength of the enemy round about did contribute to the designe with all fiercenesse, since the want of a guard upon this passage did render all South Wales of little value. And it highly concerned us to indeavour the preventing this project, which threatned the ruine of the forrest, the intercepting of the passage between Gloucester aud Monmouth, and to render that garrison in great part useless. The governor had a hard game to play, alwayes put upon desperate hazards without a sufficiencie to accomplish or make good. For the case was questionable whether to desert Monmouth, or seek to maintain it, having no competent number for a town yet unfortified, generally malignant, in an enemies' countrey, at a great distance, and with a difficult passe: but that the wonderfull successe of Beachly twice fortunate determined the doubt. The businesse was not capable of deliberation, nothing but a quick dispatch had the shew of safety. Gerrard was to be kept from joyning his forces with these in the forrest, who when once fortified were not to be beaten out having all the advantages of sea and land. And although his forces hovered about the countrey, pretending to fall upon Monmouth, yet about midnight, October 13, one hundred muskettiers were drawn thence with eight troops of our poore horse unto Clurewall, expecting there to meet the Newnham foot drawn off for this designe, the garrison supplied in the interim by the countrey voluntiers. In the close of the next evening they approached neer the enemy, where no good presage

did favour the busines. The horse failed six houres of the time appointed, whom the constant want of pay, and hands bound up from plunder, made irregular, and disabled the commander in chief to reward or punish. Himself must manage the designe not by advice only, but personall action, and act a part in the duty of each inferior officer. That night we beat up their ambuscades, forced them within their works, and by frequent alarms kept them waking, yet as much as possible from working. The next morning at break of day was the time reserved for a storme: but the foot were all stragling, and could not be gathered up, insomuch that the governor's own troop with no more than fourscore muskettiers made the onset, and by God's help performed gallantly. They found the enemy well prepared, the works followed with dexterity and diligence, with much art and cost on pallisadoes, and breast-works, and the most defective places from Wye to Seaverne defended with a tall quick-set hedge, and a ditch within, the pinnaces riding in each river with ordnance to play upon us, and the line so strongly guarded with hammer guns, and murtherers placed on the flanks at either end, that it seemed impossible to storme the same by day without apparent great losse; yet was the governour to wait for lowe water, that the guns from the ships might not reach us, which happily fell out at the opening of the day; yet were we in the reach of the ordnance planted on the Welch shore, and equall to our height. He laid hold on the instant of season, with a small party in a silent march came close to the works; whereupon after the taking of the alarme, when the enemy had spent many shot, our men forced two or three pallisadoes, that some of the foot and the forlorn hope of horse brake in: but finding themselves at a stand between the pallisadoes and the quick-set hedge lined with muskettiers, began to face about when there was no looking back, nor passing forwards, by reason of the continuall shot. In this party was the governor engaged, who now became the leader of the

forlorn-hope, and with not a little difficulty forced his own horse over the hedge, fell in among them, was recharged furiously, his head-peece knocked off with the but-end of a musket, and strangely preserved, till three or foure foot and some horse brake over the hedge after him, then there came up a full body of horse and foot, and by maine force bore down before them a resolved and prepared enemy, slew thirty, and tooke prisoners a lieutenant colonell, one major, two captaines, three lieutenants, three ensignes, with other officers, and common souldiers, to the number of two hundred and twenty. They forced Sir John Winter downe the clift into the river, where a little boate lay to receive him, and convey him thence into the ships, riding within musket shot of the shore, with many musqueteers and great shot. Many tooke the water, some whereof were drowned, and others saved themselves by recovering the boates. Prince Rupert the patron of this designe, was expected there the next high water, being then upon the river, but extreemely prevented and crossed in the height of his desire and confidence.

It was a brave exployte and true victory upon such an eminent disadvantage over a formidable enemy. They were stronger within the fortifications than sixe times the same number in the open field. The storme that hovered was blowne over, and we calme, and secure in the possession of Monmouth. But as for this necke of land so fortunate and famous to the government of Gloucester for two remarkable victories: though Sir John Winter and the Welch forces had their eye continually upon it, yet the neglect of the place was no oversight in our garrison, but caused by the incapacity of the place itselke, it being impossible to be held by us till we were masters at sea, because at every floud the ships on the Seaverne lay leuell with the highest ground. Wherefore it was resolved by a councell of warre that the buildings should be demolished, and all trees and hedges cut downe. The taking and securing of Monmouth was a faire beginning, and almost the possession

of halfe Wales. But as yet the county became unserviceable to us, and we made loosers by enlarging our bounds.

The substance of Gloucestershire was expended in maintaining the garrison foote, and the horse left wholly unfurnished, yet bounde up from plunder and rapine; neither did we finde that assistance in the county as was expected and promised: considering which, with our meane forces and slender pay, no progresse could be made in gaining the countrey, but the time was spent in light skirmishes, and surprizals betweene petty parties on both sides; and we sustained some losse by Colonel Broughton's captaine lieutenant who with fifty souldiers undertooke to garrison a house neare Godridge castle, neither obvious to releife, nor caring to fortify or store the place with victualls. This was done in the governour's absence without order, disavowed by all, and owned only by the captaine himselfe: whose plea was, that he had no support for his men, and was enforced to get his living there. But within a few dayes his house was fired upon him, and he and all his carried prisoners to Hereford before releife could reach them.

Notwithstanding our necessitous condition, the parliament were informed of great multitudes, and a burden of supernumerary officers and souldiers, and seemed to require out of the superfluity of those parts an assistance more ample than the maine strength of the place. It was hard to take a just and full view at such a distance; and peradventure perpetuall action and the great things effected here, might multiply the numbers of the garrison, and represent things in the largest forme. But the voyce of the people gave out that we were kept low by the malice of misinformations: and that the souldiers' cry could not be heard, because they were apt to be thought ever craving and querulous. Wherefore at that season there came some particular commands from the powers above, which did not correspond with the state of our affaires, or the ground of the enjoyed service. November the tenth Colonell

Massie received instructions from the committee of both kingdomes to march with all the strength he could make, into the borders of Oxfordshire to prevent the joyning of the Welsh forces under the conduct of Colonell Gerrard with the rest of the king's army, or to take advantage of the enemy, or joyne with the parliament's army as occasion did offer. This command found him overwhelmed with manifold imployments, and in that instant of time some Monmouthshire gentlemen tendred their assistance to the taking in of Chepstow castle, which the governour was ready to embrace, (that Wales might fall under the power of the parliament) but with much warinesse, having many irons in the fire. Neverthelesse lying under a greater weight of envie, he resolved to obey the former orders against the progresse and reason of his affaires; wherefore he called off his owne regiment of horse from about Monmouth, where the enemy's vigilancie was not little, and the malignity of the towne wondrous great; with the regiment of horse, he hasted towards Evesham, where the enemy had arrived before, whose march he could not interrupt or retard since they were eight for one. But before this march having drawne a small party out of Monmouth, he commanded from Gloucester his own company, and another company of the same regiment to the security of that garrison, and committed the charge of the towne in his absence to Major Throgmorton, then serjeant major to Colonell Harley, who by order of parliament was designed to that government, but with no power to command out a partye upon any designe, having no thought that the forces left there were fit to be imployed upon any service, more than the defence of that place: besides, he had waved the offers of Chepstow till he might gaine an assurance of making good so much ground in an enemies' country: for it was alwayes his desire in ingaging any people to those masters whom he served, to foresee a possibility of continuing that engagement, lest hee might doe them a greater disservice by dashing the

resolution of others, who intended the same course, and by grasping beyond his reach take off their inclinations who might be gained in due time. Notwithstanding the governor's expresse order, at the earnest solicitation and promises of some well-affected in the country, and the vehemencie of others, who thirsted after the glory of some atchievement in the governor's absence, the major yeelded for the drawing out of a party for Chepstow, and stretched his power beyond the knowne discipline of warre, fearing either the brand of cowardise, or the censure of a man unwilling to doe his country service, though he declared his judgment against it. Wherefore he advanced towards Chepstow with three hundred commanded men: having some conceived assurance of gaining the castle by surrender or onslat. The newes is conveyed forthwith to the enemy, who draw together all the strength they can make, of horse and foote from Ragland, Abergeveny, Hereford, and Godridge, and November the nineteenth about breake of day, came neere the towne, and lay undiscovered behind a rising ground, at a quarter of a mile's distance, never thinking to make an attempt, much lesse to surprise it; but as the governor's inavoydable absence, and the impertinent enterprize of Monmouth garrison did cause their approach, there being not above a hundred and fifty left there; so the negligence of the captaine to whom the keyes were intrusted in the major's absence, gave up the towne into their hands. So remisse were the slender guards, that the treually was beaten and none tooke the alarme. The enemy observed it, and tooke the courage to attempt the surprisall, came upon the higher side of the towne, that looked towards Hereford, having only a sloping banke cast up to a reasonable height, with a dry graft of no depth; insomuch that the guards and sentinells being all asleepe, or supinely negligent, above forty men presently climbed over, and fell downe to the next port, where they found no more than sixe men, who fled from the guard upon their comming on; with that one takes an iron barre,

breakes the chaine, forces the gate, and sets it open to the whole body of horse, who rid up the towne with full career, seased upon the maine guard before one man could be ready to give fire, and tooke the rest in their beds; it was done in a moment, where wee lost Colonell Broughton, foure captaines, lieutenants and ensignes, some of the committee, together with common souldiers, in all, about one hundred and threescore prisoners, two sakers, besides a drake, and nine hammer guns taken at Beachly, with ammunition and provision, and at least foure hundred muskets.

The newes of the taking of Monmouth reached Colonell Massie neer Burford, prosecuting the commands of the committee of both kingdomes, and there abiding to meete the Lord Grandeston, with the Worcester forces who endeavour for Oxford; hence he makes haste to the reliefe of the party sent out against Chepstow, and to bring off the rest that remaine upon their guards in that county: and at Gloucester understood that the party sent for Chepstow were safely landed, on this side Wye, having effected nothing of their designe; the governor met them in the forrest, and thence marched to Rosse, where he hoped to have passed the bridge, to the releefe of Pembridge castle, which was made an out-guard to the garrison of Monmouth, but found the bridge broken downe, and the river made unpassable by the sinking of boates on the other side, and a guard of horse to defend it. Here we had some disputes with the enemy for two dayes: but those in the castle having no meanes of a longer subsistence, were inforced to surrender upon quarter, and the freedome of their persons, most of the common souldiers revolted, being formerly of the king's army, and our prisoners.

The base neglect of the officers had not the least share in the unfortunate losse of Monmouth, and daily wants increased the neglect, and weakened the governour's hand in inflicting condigne punishment. And as the parliament's service was by many degrees

cast backe by this misfortune: so the forrest in speciall was hereby sorely plagued being left open to the spoyle of the enemy, against whom they were preingaged by Colonell Massie, and of late had declared themselves more freely. And though the generall multitude seemed to be brought in by the hatred of Sir John Winter, whose name and faction the people did abhorre; yet at that time the tye of affection and necessity drew them to a strong combination. To provide for their safety was the governour's maine care, wherefore instead of one good baracadoe, the towne of Monmouth, sundry garrisons are erected in the forrest, for want of an ample strong-hold, and these expended greater portions of men and ammunition, though the limits of the government were much contracted. The garrison of High Meadow did affront Monmouth, and furthered the preservation of that side: Ruerdeane was a stoppe to the plunderers from Hereford; and those at Lidney were kept in by another party at Nast. These lesser places distracted the governour on every side, willing but not able to preserve all them that desired to live under his protection.

Some weekes before, the governour had commanded a party to Yate-Court within ten miles of Bristoll, to secure the neighbourhood being a well affected people: but in this distraction he resolved to call off those men, who peradventure might maintaine themselves in a kinde of imprisonment: but in no wise preserve a countrey that was then filled with the king's forces, so neere Bristoll, and farre from releife, especially in the winter. Nor at that season could they draw off without a stronger guard and convoy. To this end the governour marched to Kingscoate with three hundred horse and dragoones, intending to send a party to bring off that garrison: but receiving advertisement of a regiment of horse, quartered that night in Sodbury, he fell downe thither, where he found an enemy there arrived to the assistance of Colonell Gerrard against Yate-House; here he resolved to undertake them that night, and had no sooner

appeared at the towne's end, but the first guard fledde, and our men marched into the town one by one, because of the enemye's baracadoes, went up to the maine guard consisting of forty horse, who being surprized and daunted at the sudden entrance of our men and not confiding in their owne strength, quitted the place, and left the rest in their quarters, most of which escaped on foote by the backe side of the towne. We tooke fourescore horses, many armes, twenty prisoners, and of them two captaines, and the next morning brought off the forlorne garrison.

In the depth of winter, when each parcell of the parliament's army had retired into London, or the securer parts of that association, and the king's forces were dispersed into the severall quarters: Cirencester and the hill country of Gloucestershire, was assigned to Sir Jacob Ashley, having the command of three brigades of foote, and assisted with the Queene's, Prince Rupert's, Prince Maurice's, and the Lord Wilmot's regiments of horse with others. His designe was to destroy the countrey, and live upon the ruines thereof: whose incursions on that side, and the Bristoll forces about Berkely, with the Worcester, Hereford, and Monmouth forces on the other side, act something daily to the spoyle of a miserable country, which is left as the kingdome's forlorne hope, and croucheth daily betweene two burdens. The distressed neighbourhoode did seeme to challenge those severall armyes then in being, which lay rusting in their quarters, to keepe the associated countyes where no feare was, when they might prevent the ruine of their friends, and starve the enemy who live upon our fatnesse; when they might hinder the king's recruits, disturbe their winter calmes, and make them fight for the possession and enjoyment of their owne territoryes. But in the deepe silence of that part of the kingdome, these parts are borne downe by the maine bulke of the king's army, without the least inablement at present, or the hopes of future releife.

The enemye's whole burden rests upon this government. Colo-

nell Massie placed a guard at Lypiatt, commanded a party of horse and dragoones to Stroude a place most exposed to spoyle: and set guardes of horse at severall places of advantage. These guardes affronted Sir Jacob Ashley in the stoppe of contribution and plunder, the indignation whereof drew him out of Cirencester with foure regiments of horse to Hampton roade, where he divided his men, and sent them out three severall wayes to surprize our horse in their quarters, and plunder the countrey. Each party fayled of the designe, through the favour of Providence to that well affected people. At each guardes some few that tooke the alarme did end counter and stave off the enemye's first violence, till the rest of a few slender troopes were drawne up, and encouraged by the governour's fortunate arrivall from Gloucester at that instant, charge and overcame a farre greater power, which were also engaged to fight by their heavy plunder, and difficult returne. In the whole about eight or nine slaine, and twenty of the best men of the queen's and prince's regiment taken prisoners, and of these one captaine, and cornet. The successe did revive and engage the countrey.

Yet after a few dayes Sir Jacob Ashley marched out of Cirencester with a greater power of horse and foote, and assaulted the guard at Lypiatt in the absence of the captaine that commanded there, with instructions from the governour to draw off, if at any time an army fell downe. But the house being unfortified was soone taken, and uncapable of defence, where we lost a lieutenant, and fifty private souldiers. At which very time we had lodged three hundred foote within Muserden House sent thither the day before, with orders to defend it as a garrison, who had no knowledge of the enemy's approach till they came within halfe a mile. They remained in the house according to command, but in no defensible posture, nevertheless expecting the onset every moment. The surprisall of these men was prevented by a mere accident of the governour's arrivall,

who faced the great body with no more than sixty horse, till the foote were drawne off the hills.

That the strength of the king's army should lie upon us, was not strange, but that no care was had of a competent provision for a deserving country, was beyond the conceit of them that beheld our misery. The enemy were strong in horse, and our few divided into so many parcells and swallowed up in the petty guards, that no sooner could we drawe to the rescue of one side, but the forces on the other hand fell on to the ruine of the poore people. The governor knowes no remedy but by daily shifting motions, and becomes an ubiquitary: he can attempt no designe, but first in his owne person faceth the enemy on the contrary side, and fills them with the alarme of his presence; Sir Jacob Ashley sends warrants for contributions to the gates of Gloucester: the forces from Hereford were marched forth to Canon-Froome towards Lidbury; whereupon the governor advanced with a party of horse and foote as farre as Bosbury waiting for action, but staid only for a night, having placed guards towards Worcester and Hereford in the most passible wayes for the enemy's approach, and fell into one of their quarters, tooke a captaine and his cornet, with some common troopers, and fiftene horses; the enemy falling downe from Cirencester suddenly fetches home this party.

Whiles these things happened, the governour received a command from the committee of both kingdoms to attempt Campden House, newly garrisoned by the king's forces, under Sir Henry Bard; and the horse of Warwicke, and Coventry, by command of the same committee were to aide and receive orders from him in the prosecution of this designe; Colonell Massie tooke courage to resolve them of the incapacitie of that service for the present, since it could not be done without greater losse to the state than the fortune of the action could countervaille; for it was a worke of continuance that required our whole strength; and that side of the

country from which we drew must be given up to destruction, and the enemy waited no greater advantage than to fasten the governor upon a tedious enterprize: besides, the intendment was unveiled in all those parts that were required to send aide, and before the orders of the grand committee came to his hand, the London Mercuries had proclaimed it to the world.

The Earl of Worcester, the Lord Herbert, and their agent, Sir John Winter, bestirre themselves to patch up the lingering life of the garrison at Lidney, and have procured from Prince Maurice at Worcester a regiment of horse and dragoones, by whose assistance he was confident to have beaten up our small guards in the forrest, and enlarge his owne quarters; to bring the forrest once more under his power to the destruction of the people, and the great advantage of the king's army, and Bristoll in speciall, furnishing them with iron, wood and coales. The reminding of so great a mischief to the parliament's service made the governour carefull to prevent him, and with an answerable number of horse and foote advanced into the forrest towards Lidney, where Sir John and his party got in before him. But after a few small skirmishes, to no valuable losse on either side; the governour set guards upon all the passages, and imprisoned the enemy in their own strong hold, and again drew off the maine body in the view of the garrison. The enemy observing his march, and supposing the expedition for Gloucester, sallied out upon Sully-House at a mile's distance, and a temporary garrison for the blocking up of Lidney. In the instant of time the governour returnes to this guard, and understanding by the scouts their neere approach, drew out a forlorne hope, faced and charged them, retreated a little, and faced them againe with the exchange of few shot, till the enemy were brought up so high that they discovered our body. Hereupon they make a sudden retreat, our forlorne hope fall on, and the body followes, turned their horse to flight, who forsooke the foote, and left most of them to

our mercy. Here wee tooke one captaine, with five and twenty common souldiers, having slaine a captaine, two lieutenants, and twenty sixe souldiers. The whole action upon those forces from Worcester was performed only with the losse of twenty horses, and a few men surprised in their quarters, which neverthesse cost the enemy the life of a major. The passages from Lidney are all guarded by our horse to starve those within, and preserve the forrest from their plunder.

The governour having his hands and thoughts filled with these distractions, was yet more perplexed by a fresh and unknowne engagement of Colonell Stephens in Wiltshire. It happened that about this time the enemy had garrisoned an old, but repaired castle at the Devizes. And to prevent the spoyle of the country neere Malmesbury, Colonell Devereaux had erected a garrison at Rouden House between the Devizes and Malmesbury; and before it was settled or well furnished with ammunition and provision, it was set upon, and sorely straightened: Colonell Stephens being newly made governour of Beverston castle, was desired to give aide to the reliefe of the house, and sets upon the service without Colonell Massie's order, or knowledge in those his manifold preingagements; wherefore hee advanced to succour the besieged with three troopes of his owne regiment, and some Malmesbury foote, and though he failed of a party of horse to be sent from Colonell Devereux, undertooke the businesse, broke through the enemy with much difficulty and hazard, and relieved the house with provision and powder, but failed in the concluding part; for when he might with farre lesse difficulty have forced the way back through a troubled enemy, he alighted unwarely and went into the house to refresh himselfe, thereby giving the besiegers time to rally, and to cast up a breastworke before the passage, that hee, with the rest, being foure hundred horse and foote, were all cooped together, and the poore besieged are most desperately straitened by this kinde of reliefe.

They without are five hundred strong; the newes runnes to Gloucester and calls for helpe, which had not needed, had Colonell Stephens imparted the businesse to the governour, as he ought, and waited to have set the country in a posture on all sides to face the enemy, whose inrodes in the meane while were expected from each quarter. They were already drawne out of Cirencester, Farfard and Leeblade, and kept their randevouz on the hills by Cirencester. From Hereford they stirre with a great strength on that side, and in the forrest, those that are penned up in Lidney strive to breake prison.

Notwithstanding this at our first alarme, the governour sent his owne captaine lieutenant, and threescore of the choise horse well appointed, and all that could be spared, unlesse he would ruine the forrest: and now the worke of releeving this place is made more difficult, the enemy round about being drawne together with a purpose to swallow them up, or more gladly to fight with Colonell Massie at such advantage on the hills and farre from home; yet the best face is put on a bad matter, the threescore horse were to joyne with an hundred horse and dragoones from Malmesbury to breake through the enemy, and these added to the foure hundred and thirty within the house, were conceived able to force a passage through the midst of the first five hundred. But now a greater power are come up to the house, at least three thousand men: Sir Jacob Ashley did contribute much to the strength of the besiegers by draining his quarters at Cirencester, whom the governour could not prevent, nor follow, except with the losse of his interest in the forrest; only he raised the country about Stroudwater, and to face the garrison of Cirencester; our horse advanced up to the first guard, and slew the sentinell, hoping by this alarme to draw backe the residue from Rowden House: and though the weather dispersed and drove backe the country forces, yet such hopes did revive the businesse, that two rainy nights might be an opportune and active

season for Colonell Stephens to breake through, and than which no greater could be expected. Our second party of horse went on for Malmesbury to relevee the besieged at Rowden, and by the way releevd Beverston Castle with ammunition, but came too late for the maine designe; for the more potent enemy had so strongly guarded the passages, that the releefe of the house became desperate, and they within presently surrendred upon quarter for their lives.

The regiments of horse are much broken, and reduced to an inconsiderable number; the enemy growes strong, and a streame of ill successe flowes in upon us. Colonell Hopton, for whom the governour procured a commission, upon his promise of raising foure hundred horse and armes upon his owne purse, without the helpe of the state or country, having got together about threescore horse, and forty foote, presumed with these men to garrison Castle-ditch neere Ledbury in Herefordshire, having neither order nor directions from the governour, who conceived the house not to be defended, and required him to desist the enterprize; the order is neglected: but not many dayes after, a party drawne out of Hereford, had not lain before it foure and twenty houres, but he, with his forty foot, and twenty horse were taken, and carried prisoners to Hereford, ere the governour could come with releefe, who lighted neverthesse upon a few straglers in the reare, and tooke thirteene prisoners.

Meane while Sir John Winter's releife lyes under the arrest, yet so as we would gladly ridde our hands: for the guards set round his house to the safety of the forrest, did alwayes distract our designes. These horse are impatient of a longer imprisonment, and after a sore distresse breake their way through our quarters into the utmost parts of the forrest towards Chepstow, and joyne with a partie of foote from Chepstow landed at Lancaught, where they intended to fortify and to make good the passe over Wye: by which meanes

they might issue out of Wales at their pleasure. The place contains foure hundred acres, having a very straight entrance. Here-upon our severall guards drew together and summoned the countrey to aide and came up to the enemy, who were divided in opinion; one part held it meete to make good the passage, the rest perswaded to draw out into the field and fight. These latter prevailed, and for awhile both parties faced each other. Our men drew out a forlorne hope of foote, the place so requiring, next unto these a forlorne hope of horse, and the rest were appointed for a reserve. Their horse violently charged our forlorne hope of foote, who were ready to give backe when our horse came in opportunely and played their parts, whereat the foote tooke courage, and fell on all together, and with one charge turned the enemy to flight, that they killed few on the place, but drove them up to the river side, and fell upon the hacke in the pursuite, and so cooped them up that few escaped their hands. About fourescore were slaine of whom were Colonell Gamme, and Colonell Vangeris; of the residue some adventured the river to recover the frigate: many were drowned, of whom Colonell Poore governour of Berkeley Castle; but Sir John Winter and his brother with some few besides escaped only of an hundred men from Chepstow, and an hundred and fourescore horse and dragoones from Lidney House. The remainder fell into our hands, an hundred and twenty taken prisoners, of whom two lieutenant colonells, foure captaines, and divers inferiour officers. This was the last blow of three which Sir John Winter received one in the necke of another.

These things happened about the time of the taking of Shrewesbury, which called off the king's forces from these parts: Sir Jacob Ashly marched from Cirencester, and Prince Rupert out of Herefordshire to releive his brother Maurice neere Chester. The governor was imployed in observing the enemy's motion, but with a strength every day more slender, having lost most part of his own

troope with some peeces of others by another miscarriage in fetching our armes and ammunition from Warwicke, and in the conveying of some clothiers' packes of great value, which were taken betweene Campden and Banbury through the misguidance of the officer that commanded.

Nevertheless he advanced into the neerer parts of Herefordshire with two hundred horse and five hundred foote, to startle the enemy or make some diversion, supposing they bent their course to the releife of West Chester. Here he found great multitudes of the countrey people appearing in armes, but standing on their owne guard, and declaring themselves for neither side. It was hoped nevertheless they might be made of good use, and the best affected of them gave Colonell Massie that satisfaction as was meete, by whom he understood the condition of their engagements. The governour of Hereford sending for hay and contribution to his garrison, was so farre denied by the countrey that it came to blowes. The people rising to resist, some few men, and as it was reported women and children were slaine, and some carried prisoners to Hereford: also some of the Hereford forces were taken by the countrey men. The next day the alarum went throughout that side of the county, and some parts of Worcestershire. The people gather into a body, and march to Hereford. Here they stayed some dayes with a resolution to have certaine articles granted by the governour of that garrison. The summe of their demaunds were to this effect, that such of theirs as were held prisoners there, should be delivered forthwith; that satisfaction be given to the country for the losse they sustained by plunder, as also to the wives and children of those that were slaine: that the countrey might be freed from contribution and all manner of payment to the souldier; that since the present forces of Hereford were not able to defend the county, they forthwith quit the garrison, and leave it to be kept by the countrey, who are able to defend the same, and

the whole county with lesse charge. These and the like triviall passages did they discover to the world, as it is wont to happen in such popular commotions. In the meane while severall posts were dispatched to Colonell Massie at Ledbury, and letters returned from him to them, and in particular to some gentlemen, the cheifest and best affected. These letters received by the country people, tooke well with some; but the generall vote was that they needed not his helpe to gaine Hereford, which they conceived would be delivered up by the citizens, whom they knew to be of one minde with them. Other messengers came from them with intreaties to march up to Hereford, promising concurrence in assaulting the towne: others would have him fall upon another garrison at Canon-Froome. The governour made answer to the severall messages, that he desired to conferre with some of their best intrusted gentlemen and yeomen, expecting meete security that either by protestation or taking the nationall covenant they give him an assurance of their standing with the parliament, requiring them to cast off the enemy, and receive orders from him, to act nothing of themselves without the consent and approbation of parliament, without which engagement he could not joyne or act with them. To this they replied that they held it a thing of evill consequence, and dangerous to declare themselves, and they knew their ability of themselves to performe what they had resolved, intreating him to march backe with his men, giving assurance that they were our freinds, but could not declare for either side: this act of theirs being a just defence against the unjust proceedings of the committee and souldiers of Hereford, and to secure the countrey from contribution and quarter. The governour makes answer to this resolve, that the course they had taken was neither safe nor legall; for if in this confused manner they should gaine Hereford, it would doe them little service: unlesse they were able to keepe it from the king's army, and be able of themselves to beate them wholly from that side Seaverne, that

no incursion could be made on their countrey from any part: that they would distresse themselves without releife, because their illegall way would not be owned by the parliament's forces: for though they have undertaken the preservation of the kingdome, yet they can give no protection to any that will not joyne with them in that way which the representative body of the kingdome thinks fit. For a third party cannot be in England. And therefore they have no way of safety or justification in this action, but a speedy declaration for the parliament, from whom they would finde security and protection and after assurance of fidelity, a settling of the countrey to their owne likings. He gave them likewise to understand, that the charge of the parliament in maintaining the souldiers, and of the countrey in contribution, did thence arise; that the people being disingaged in person might looke to their husbandry; declaring withall that the disunion of the country not understanding their interest in the parliament was the sole cause of the entertayning of souldiers. For had the whole kingdome rose in time and expressed themselves of this opinion, that they would stand up as one man against the popish partie, and enemy of their countrey: the worke had beene long since done. But their drawing backe put the parliament upon this way of raying armes upon their stocke and expence, or the kingdome must needs fall. He minded them likewise that if they lost this opportunity of closing with the parliament, nothing but destruction would follow; that if they closed with Hereford, and composed the difference, this compliance might last till Prince Rupert's returne, and then they must looke to pay for this rebellion: but if they purpose at last to fall in with Rupert, it would hasten their bondage, yet give them no security.

This kinde of intercourse passed betweene Colonell Massie and the countrey people; meane while he drew backe to Rosse, waiting the event of this commotion, but not engaging himselfe amidst a promiscuous and doubtfull multitude. He represented likewise to

the committee of both kingdomes, what advantage the gaining, and disadvantage the losse of this opportunity might be to the whole worke: that their expressions of their esteeme of himselfe, and his gentle dealing with them were great: that the weaknesse of his forces, cheifely of horse, was the maine businesse that caused the major part to decline his invitation: importuning them if they desired to gaine this partie, as also a leading party to the whole kingdome, to send a considerable strength of horse; and if the forces saide to be intended, had come to him, when fifteene thousand appeared in armes before Hereford, and of them sixe thousand musqueteers, and some well mounted, he had gained a full testimony of compliance with the parliament, and drawne them with ease to aide him against Prince Rupert's army, when they were in the moode, so farre incensed and intraged. And to compleate the designe, a recruite for the regiments of horse was necessary, and that the auxiliaries should bring along their meanes of entertainment; for the sending of strength without money did more wound than heale us; for the souldiers challenge their pay or plunder; and as it was hatefull to the governour, so the state of the countrey would not permit him to spend his time in gathering contribution. But for want of a just and due supply, these men were lost to us and to themselves also, concluding a peace with the governour of Hereford, and obnoxious and open to the king's army.

Hereupon Colonell Massie marched from Rosse, and passed the Seaverne towards Berkely, proposing to joyne with Sir William Waller, who was noysed to be come into the borders of this countrey, when the day before some of the Berkely forces had issued out towards our garrison at Slimbridge: but ere they could retreate to the castle, the garison forces fell upon them, slewe twelve, whereof one captain, an Irish rebell, and tooke twenty five prisoners, whereof two were captaines and one lieutenant. The governour with his party advanced thence towards Chipping-Sodbury,

where Colonell Strange with a party of horse began to fortify: but upon the notice of our advance retreated to Berkely.

No sooner had the Herefordshire men disbanded, and returned to their owne houses, but Prince Rupert falls backe out of Shropshire, and comes upon them with his whole army. The noise of his arrivall doth hasten the governour's returne to Gloucester: who drew thence two hundred horse, and five hundred foote into the borders of Herefordshire, where many of the countrey people resorted unto him, some with fire weapons, some with others: but the want of strength, especially of horse, render'd him of little capacity to preserve them. The people having good desires, but daunted with the greatnesse of the enemy, and the slendernesse of our forces, were wholly lost. Sir William Waller was importuned to draw this way, or to send a strong party which might prove of the greatest advantage to the kingdome, when the prince's designe was to lye on that countrey to recruite his army with men horses and money, for the spring action, and the approach of the parliament's army; and would not only bring in the countrey, and make them firme to their service, but disappoint if not destroy Prince Rupert's army, at that time the greatest in the kingdome, being a confluence of the forces of Prince Rupert, Prince Maurice, Colonell Gerard, Lord Hastings, Lord Ashly, and Sir Marmaduke Langdale. These men beare all before them, take men's persons, spoyle their estates, disarme the countrey, reape the benefit of the late insurrection, and extract money by force and terroure from the poore people: whose destruction as well as their late rising in armes is wholly lost to the parliament, and serve only to make up the enemies' recruite. The princes impresse men in great abundance in Hereford, Monmouth, Worcestershire, raise great summes of money, get good store of armes: necessity in part casting them upon such ways of violence; and coercive power. And though the prest men were of suspected fidelity, and lesse value, and had often deceived them in the heate

of battell: yet they conduced to the sudden forming of an army when the king's affairs grew desperate, and thrust in with the old volunteers made up the bulke of a great body. Thus both the strength and the ruines of the countrey are left to the enemy, when by the aide of twelve hundred horse in the beginning of this insurrection, the hopes of the businesse might without vanity promise the parliament many thousand fighting men of all sorts besides those already in pay.

Sir John Winter, the plague of the forrest, once more importuned the releife of Lidney House, and obtaines from the prince about two thousand horse, and fiteene hundred foot, who breake in to destroy the countrey and disarme the inhabitants. The governour with what strength he can make marched to Wesbury and quartered within a mile and a halfe of the enemy, and gave order to the guards that beset Lidney, that the foote be drawne off to the garrison of Nast, and High Meadow, and the horse repaire to the randevouze, which was done without losse, when the forrest was full of the enemy. He preserved likewise the lower parts neere the river, but for want of horse wherein the enemy did abound, could not without extreame hazard and losse advance to the further parts, where they kept the randevouze, and which they laide wast, plundering the houses, to the bare walls, driving all the cattell, siezing upon the persons of men, and sending them captives to Monmouth, and Chepstow, except such as escaped to us by flight, (as many did with their armes) and some few that saved themselves in woods and minepitts. The enemy did not adventure into the lower and neerer places where our foot lay ready and resolved to undertake theirs if they came on. Our neighbouring parts of Hereford and Worcestershire, runne the like fortune with these in the forrest, and looke blacke upon this garrison which was not able to preserve them. The king's forces returned the second time into the forrest, and took the gleanings of the former harvest: yet the

neerer parts are still preserved. The enemy raised themselves to a great power, already reputed sixe thousand horse and foote, and seeme to endeavour northward, wherefore the governour intending to helpe the countrey, by driving up the reare of their march, or to put in for any service, advanced to Lidbury with foure hundred horse and five hundred foot, his whole marching strength, notwithstanding the addition of two hundred and fifty horse from Northampton and Warwicke, and with this party attended the enemye's motion. Hither Prince Rupert advanced with the best part of his army, of whose approach neither spye nor scout from the out-guards made the least discovery, till they came within halfe a mile of the towne, horse and foote, to surprize or at least to surround us. The governour instantly commanded the horse to mount, and drew up the foote, though not in so good order as he might, by reason of the sudden alarme; and suspecting what he afterwards founde, that the prince would endeavour to compasse him in, he marched off the foot with all due speed that the enemye's right or left wing might not get before us, which they endeavored by sending one party to the town's end to keep us in action there, whilst two other parties fetched a compasse upon either hand. In the meane while he brought up those few horse, that were not upon the out-guards to charge the enemy at their first entrance, and placed an ambuscado of twenty musqueteeres to make good the retreat. But the businesse was acted so that the governour in person with the field officers and captaines were enforced to entertaine the enemy with severall charges, and beare their brunt alone, till the foote had ridde some ground before them. In this part of the skirmish their losse was the greatest for number, of ours only Major Backehouse mortally wounded, the governour, whom the prince aimed to charge, had his horse wounded under him by two severall shots. Our men drew off as was meete, and made good the retreat three or foure miles to the enemye's losse, till they came

up to a place of shelter, when hasting to get before the right wing of the enemy's horse, they were put into some confusion. And the horse having no great desire to fight, neglected the advantage of the place, to stop the pursuit though the governour endeavoured what he could to engage them. That the enemy fell in among the reare guard of the foote, where he lost neare two hundred men taken prisoners: many country men being taken in to make up the number. This businesse cost them the lives of some gallant officers, and the prince missed his aime of surprizing Colonell Massie, but the governour supposed the stay of the prince's march an advantage to the service.

Nevertheless the army continued some dayes after, betweene Hereford and Worcester recruiting dayly, and seeme to put much confidence in the country, whom they cause, not only to abjure the parliament, but binde over to themselves by solemne oath, swearing in the presence of God; that they beleeve no power of pope or parliament can depose the king, and absolve them from their naturall obedience to his royall person and successors, that the two houses of parliament without the king's consent, have no power to make lawes, or to bind or oblige the subjects by their ordinances, that they beleeve the Earl of Essex, and Manchester, and Sir Thomas Fairfaxe, Sir William Waller, Colonell Massie, together with all such as have already, or shall hereafter take up armes by authority, or commission from the members of parliament at Westminster, pretending to fight for king and parliament, doe thereby become actuall rebels, and such ought with all their adherents and partakers, to be presented and brought to condigne punishment: that they will never beare armes in their quarrell, but will, if they be thereto called, assist their soveraine and his armies in the defence of his royall person, crowne, and dignity, against all contrary forces to the utmost of their skill and power, and with the hazard of their

lives and fortunes; that they will not discover the secrecies of his majestie's army unto the rebells, nor hold any correspondence with them; and all designes of theirs against the king's army, for the surprizing or delivering up of the cities of Hereford or Worcester, or any other of his majestie's forts, they shall truly discover to those whom it shall concern, so soone as it comes to their knowledge. That his majestie's taking up armes for the causes by himselfe so often declared in print is justly necessary. That they shall endeavour all they can to hinder popular tumults, risings, randevouzes, meetings, confederacies, and associations of the people, townes, hundreds, and countries, which are not warranted to assemble by his majestie's expresse commission, or by power derived from him by vertue of his commissions, and in the sense he meanes it, and that they detest from their heart that seditious and traiterous late invented nationall covenant, and protest never to take it. All these particulars they vow and protest sincerely to observe without equivocation or mentall reservation. This protestation was strictly enjoyned by the princes, to be taken by all without exception, in the counties of Monmouth, Glamorgan, Breeknocke, Radnor, Hereford, and Worcester. Neverthelesse this constrained act could not knit the hearts of a male-contented country to the love of that side, nor could the state permit the enemies exaction and violence by this vow eternally to binde up the people from well-doing.

The prince's army is the maine rest of the king's affaires which they strengthen daily by impressing the countrey, taking in lesser brigades, and draining the garrisons, and a part of Goring's army passed over the Seaverne from Bristoll into Wales, and so to Rupert at Hereford. After a little stay to perfect the recruite the enemy drew thence, the infantry and artillery lay betweene Worcester and Beaudly commanded by Sir Jacob Ashley, whilst Rupert and Maurice with the horse and some select foote fetch off

the king from Oxford, assisted also with Goring's horse and dragoones, who left his majesty at Stow and marched backe over the hills into the west through our borders.

The governour received another dropping by the addition of two troops from Newport-Pagnell, the auxiliaries were in all three hundred and forty: his owne so few, weake, and ill armed, that he could scarce muster a hundred fighting horse: and those much discontented, observing the rest in good equipage, but themselves in the constant action of souldiers naked and miserable. These are imployed in attending the enemye's march, to preserve the countrey what they may; yet they disturbe it with frequent alarmes, and sometimes beate up the lesser parties, and upon sundry attempts tooke one colonell, divers captaines, with inferiour officers and souldiers.

Sir John Winter despairing of longer subsistance and lively-hoode, deserted and fired his house at Lidney, having first spoyled the forrest and so before hand with revenge. By this time the counties round about are cleared of the king's army, and Colonell Massie received a larger supply of horse from the remainder of Colonell Bher and D'Albeir's regiments commanded by Major Bul-ler: and thereby inabled to undertake some important service. Evesham was beheld as the most opportune and of greatest concernment in distressing Worcester, and establishing the committee by order of parliament for that county. Wherefore the governour drew before it with five hundred foote from Gloucester, and two hundred from Warwicke, who belonged to the Worcester committee, with a strong able brigade of horse, and in the name of the king and parliament summoned Colonell Robert Legge, governour of the towne, to make a speedy surrender of the garrison with all persons, armes, ammunition and provision, which he there held against the justice of them both, or upon refusall to expect such justice as fire and sword would inflict. And to this he expected a

speedy answer. Colonell Legge sent backe the summons with this answer: You are hereby answered in the name of his majesty, that this garrison which I am intrusted to keep, I will defend so long as I can with the men, armes, and ammunition therein, being nothing terrified by your summons. I perceave you are a stranger to our strength and resolution, further treaties will be troublesome.

Upon this returne the governour prepared the designe, and ordered to each officer his charge in the storme. The assault was to be made on each part of the towne. The side that lookes towards Worcester was to be stormed in five places with one place at the bridge on the other side of the river. The commanded parties of the foote were led on by the severall captaines, and seconded by the horse devided into three bodies. After the disposition of the designe, and the night spent in alarmes, the signall was given a little after breake of day, when both horse and foote fell on together with life and heate in a furious assault, broke up the pallisadoes, filled the grafts with faggots, and other preparations, made sundry passages, recovered the workes, and stood firme on the parapet, whilst the musqueteers from within played furiously. The foot having recovered the shelter of the ditch beate off the enemy, got up by scaling ladders, stood on the breast workes, and some entred but were againe driven up by the horse to the top of the workes, where they stood firme and fired, but after a while ready to be beaten off by the violent charge of the enemy's horse, till a party of our horse on that side drawing up close, and having a small breach made for their entrance, fell in and beate off the enemy from that bulwarke; whilst another party made an entrance neare the bridge. And now they tumble over the works on all sides: and charge up both horse and foote with equall gallantry, bore downe the enemy and mastered the garrison. The conflict was hot and difficult for almost an houre, and maintained by the enemy with much resolution. The lives of

the officers and souldiers were wonderfully preserved in that violent storme, when each man was exposed to the hazard of the most daring enemy. Of the officers two only wounded, and ten private souldiers slaine, and twelve of the enemy. The prisoners taken in the garrison were five hundred and fifty on the list, of whom two colonells, one major, thirteene captaines, with other officers and gentlemen reformadoes to the number of seventy. Many gentlemen and officers that charged with the governour, acted their parts with courage, and spurd on the valour of the souldiers. The reserve of foot devided into three bodies, to second the assaylants, performed as became resolved men, and the whole action was compleate according to the idea and platforme of the designe. The evening before to keep off an approaching enemy from Worcester, about a hundred horse were drawne out, and kept guard five miles from Evesham, faced a party of horse from Worcester, whose hasty and distracted retreat gave such an alarme to the whole city, that they fired foure peece of ordnance before day, and alarmed the countrey round about, when the conquest was already secured, and the parliament masters of Evesham.

This performance was the concluding honour of Colonell Massie's government, after his remove from the present command was resolved by both houses of parliament, when the desires of promoting the publike service made him to hazard the fame of his former achievements by the doubtfull issue of the last action.

Some dayes before hee had an honourable invitation from the westerne gentlemen, and the same day that he entred Evesham, received a commission from the lords and commons to leade an army in the west: the parliament's command found the governour absolutely free in affection and choice, willing to comply with their pleasures, neither longing to stay, nor eager of a change, but in any place ready to spend his blood in the kingdome's cause, if he might not spend it in vaine. Neverthelesse the city and county of Glou-

cester did much resent it, and something repine that their governour should be snatched from such a people as had done much, and suffered much in their fidelity and resolution without precedent, (considering the many assaults) that had sacrificed their lives and fortunes in preserving this city and the kingdome therein, that had borne so much in the firing of the suburbs, in the burning of many houses neere the towne, some by the enemies malice, and some by themselves for safety, and the pressures of the country under both armies. They cast up the consequence and concernment of the place, being the center, garden and granary of the kingdome, the blocke-house to the river of Severne, and a barre to all passages betweene Worcester, Bristoll, and the sea, the stop of entercourse betweene Oxford and Wales, the key to open the passage upon the Welsh and their frontiers, and the locke and barre to keepe out their incursions: the only refuge and safety for the parliament party and friends in that part of the kingdome, and the enemies sole hinderance from the command of the whole west. Besides this, they had strong desires of retaining their governour having so long experience of his judgement to foresee dangers, and care to prevent them, of his readinesse to issue out for offence and defence upon each incursion, of his indefatigable industry in taking the advantage of all opportunities to weaken the enemy, and happy successe in all enterprizes, of his disposition and comportment, by which he cherished the well-affected, satisfied and confirmed the indifferent, reduced the very malignant: and by himselfe engaged the country to armes, and governed the souldiers from mutiny, rapine, and plunder, or other violence in the garrison or country. To all which they added an unavoidable prejudice against any stranger, though in himselfe able and faithfull, considering the many by-past plots, and the enemies implacable malice who breath out threatnings daily. Such was the sense of the people universally. And the major and aldermen with the whole city *nemine contradicente* did so farre

honour themselves in vindicating Colonell Massie, as to petition both houses of parliament for his continuance in the government, representing in expresse termes his noble disposition, constant and unwearied paines, blest by God with extraordinary successe, and his maine influence on the hearts of the people in generall, most of them being by him ingaged in armes for the parliament, and upon the whole souldiery, who were kept together to serve in this countrie, chiefly by the love and respect they beare to him. And this they acknowledged not with an intention of prescribing rules to the state, but out of their care and zeale to the common cause. They likewise importuned the lord mayor, aldermen, and common-councell of London, upon the mutuall bonds of former engagement, in defending and raising the late siege of Gloucester, to represent unto the parliament the sense of their feares, and the countrie's distraction at the removall of Colonell Massie: complaining of the sinister ends of some few persons who brought in a crosse petition, with articles in the name of the county of Gloucester, which no part of the county did ever acknowledge, and of which no corner thereof was conscious.

The house of commons would not accept the charge against Colonell Massie, and that they might deale in the businesse without partiality, refused also the countrie's petition. Neverthelesse the speaker was directed in the name of the house, by way of answer to their requests, to let them know, that they were very sensible of the dangers that might attend an alteration in that kinde, but that the governour provided to succeed might speedily give such assurance against such dangers, that there will be no cause for them to continue, much lesse to encrease their feares. That the house was confident that their constant readinesse to comply with the publike, would also in this particular of Colonell Massie's removall make them rest content in the resolution of the parliament in that matter. Though Gloucester be a place they prize, and care for as much as any in

the kingdome, yet for the present it was thought of greater necessitie to imploy him in that command of the westerne forces, and they cannot doubt of the concurrence and submission of those well-affected parts in whatsoever is judged to be of publike advantage.

Hereupon it was ordered the third of June, 1645, by the lords and commons, that master Luke Nurse, mayor of Gloucester, Alderman Singleton, and Colonell Blunt, or any two of them, shall have the command of the garrison of Gloucester, and of the forces and garrison in Gloucestershire, in as ample manner as Colonell Massie had, till the appointed governour come downe to his charge there, or the houses take other order.

Colonell Massie in the meane while labours to disingage the affections of the countrey, and to take off discontents and mutiny, and beseeches the parliament to send downe the succeeding governour that he might seeke to interest him in the hearts of the people, whom he never desired to indeare unto himselfe, but to those masters whom he served, which was a full testimony of a true servant to the state, upon the sole termes of conscience and honour.

FINIS.

Retrospective Review.

ADDRESS.

SEVEN volumes of the RETROSPECTIVE REVIEW have already appeared, and the EDITORS of it have the satisfaction of reflecting that their exertions have met with the unvaried applause of the numerous publications in which their work has been noticed. They likewise acknowledge with pleasure, and some mixture of pride, that they have received that most unerring of all testimonies, as large and respectable a circulation as perhaps any work, so young, ever had the fortune to experience. This success has, from time to time, stimulated their efforts, and being joined with an ardent love of literature, and an honorable ambition to contribute to the instruction and entertainment of the public, has not failed, they trust, to produce a valuable and interesting Miscellany.

It is, however, by no means the intention of the Editors to stop here: encouraged as they are, and as they hope to be still more, by public approbation, they entertain the idea of forming, by their continued publication, a body of criticism and information respecting the history of literature, which they will endeavour to make as excellent in its kind, as it is peculiar in its plan.

There is scarcely any department of letters which does not fall within the province of this Review, for an example of which the Editors wish to appeal to the volumes already published, where disquisitions on the rare and curious, discoveries of the lost and the neglected, criticisms upon the established and universally received productions of genius, alternately succeed each other. At the same time that they make this appeal to the former numbers with confidence, they would be very sorry to think, that each succeeding part will not bear visible and striking marks of improvement. The past has been an experiment, a successful one indeed, which has enabled those connected with the RETROSPECTIVE REVIEW, to lay plans for realizing all the views they originally formed for advancing it to the highest pitch of utility.

The various duties and labours necessarily attendant upon the editing of six volumes, have been an instructive lesson: they have likewise led the Editors into new connexions, opened fresh and unfailing resources, and put means into their hands of procuring all the assistance that may advance the interest of their work, increase its importance, and extend its influence.

To those who are not already acquainted with the design of the RETROSPECTIVE REVIEW, it may be observed, that the chief and final end in view is a copious and enlightened history of literature, which it is intended to accomplish by a series of promiscuous and miscellaneous papers on most of the remarkable publications which have appeared from the middle ages down to the one immediately preceding our own. No chronological order is preserved, but every effort is made to render each number a varied collection of entertaining and instructive critiques, which shall be valuable in themselves, and at the same time throw light on the main design. The form and manner of the common reviews is adhered to, and into their discussions upon the remains of the genius of other times, the Editors have attempted to infuse the philosophical spirit of modern criticism.

If, however, this work possess no other merit, it will contain an unrivalled collection of interesting extracts from all descriptions of books, which alike serve the purpose of the cursory reader, and furnish a body of specimens of the greatest part of the English authors.

With these claims, the Editors submit the sequel of their Review to the patronage of the public, and confidently trust in a continuation and extension of the notice they have hitherto received.

ON THE FIRST OF MAY 1823, WAS PUBLISHED, No. XIV. COMPLETING THE 7th VOLUME OF

The Retrospective Review,

Consisting of Criticisms upon, Analyses of, and Extracts from curious, useful, and valuable Books in all Languages, which have been published from the revival of Literature to the Commencement of the present Century.

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